The University of Chicago

THE SEMANTIC SOURCES OF THE WORDS FOR THE EMOTIONS IN SANSKRIT, GREEK, LATIN, AND THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, GENERAL
LINGUISTICS, AND INDO-IRANIAN PHILOLOGY

BY

HANS KURATH

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PREFACE

It is the purpose of this investigation to trace and to interpret the semantic history of the words for the emotions in some of the Indo-European languages, and to establish a comprehensive classification of their sources and their shifts in meaning.

I believe that, except for certain difficulties mentioned on page 9, the intention has been realized. At any rate, the wider heads marked by capital letters (A-G) and by Roman numerals will accommodate any more specific developments that may have failed to appear in the material to which I have limited myself. So words with an earlier meaning 'smile' for which I have, contrary to expectation, not succeeded in establishing a development to 'be pleased, or so' will readily fall into group B. V, and so forth.

Such an attempt at collective interpretation, if carried out on a large scale, is bound to clarify the history of the meaning of the individual words, because shifts that occur independently in separate words and in separate languages must be due to constant psychological factors, in this case, to the nature of the emotions and their relation to the rest of consciousness. To point out these psychological factors, as I attempt to do, is to explain the development of the meaning.

It goes without saying then that it was necessary to give a brief sketch of the subject matter which the words under consideration come to denote, i.e. the emotions. This was all the more imperative because strongly divergent opinions are held in regard to the psychology of the emotions, which are decisive in the interpretation of many shifts. On the whole, I accept Wundt's position as represented in his *Vorlesungen über die Menschen- und die Tierseele* (not his altered attitude in the last edition of his *Physiologische Psychologie*), with the modification suggested by Titchener, *Feeling and Attention*, p. 160ff. This offers the most satisfactory basis for the explanation of the semantic changes recorded in the words for the emotions. Incidentally, the numerous cases where names of sense perceptions have come to be applied to emotions certainly constitute a powerful argument for Wundt's view regarding the kinship of the sense feelings to the emotions.

The linguistic material has been obtained from the standard lexicons. Only the Sanskrit, the Greek, the Latin, and the Germanic

languages have been searched thoroughly; illustrations have been taken from other languages only in connection with words from the four languages mentioned, or wherever they offer exceptionally clear examples for shifts not clearly attested otherwise. No words have been included whose etymology is not tolerably certain, and of these the more certain cases have been put first within their respective groups.

My hearty thanks are due to Professors C. D. Buck and F. A. Wood of the University of Chicago for much of what knowledge I may have in my chosen field and for their generous help in the preparation of this thesis. I take this opportunity also to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor E. Prokosch of Bryn Mawr, who has taught and encouraged me in my work for many years, and to Professor E. Fay, formerly of the University of Texas.

Professor G. O. Curme and Professor J. T. Hatfield of Northwestern University have favored me with a careful reading of the final proofs and suggested a number of changes, for which I am very grateful.

Northwestern University,
November, 1921.

HANS KURATH.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP. = The American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.

BB. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, ed. by A. Bezzenberger and W. Prellwitz, Göttingen.

Berneker = Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg, 1908ff.

Boisacq = E. Boisacq, Dictionaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Paris, 1916.

Falk-Torp = H. S. Falk and Alf Torp, Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg, 1910.

Feist = S. Feist, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache. Halle, 1909.

Geldner Gloss. = K. F. Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, Glossar. Stuttgart, 1907.

Grassmann Wb. = H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rigveda. Leipzig, 1873.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen, ed. by K. Brugmann and W. Streitberg. Strassburg.

JAOS. = The Journal of the American Oriental Society, ed. by Lanman and Moore. New York.

KZ. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, ed. by A. Kuhn, E. Kuhn, J. Schmidt, W. Schulze. Berlin and Gütersloh.

Persson Beitr. = P. Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung. Upsala, 1912.

Uhl.Ai.Wb. = C. C. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache. Amsterdam, 1899.

Walde = A. Walde, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 2 edition. Heidelberg, 1910.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EMOTIONS

1. Fundamental Assumptions

The Psycho-Physical Nature of the Emotions. The nature of the emotions unfortunately is still one of the most disputed chapters of psychology, although undoubtedly more common ground has been gained since the days of James[1] and Lange[2] on the one hand, and Stumpf[3] and Irons[4] on the other. Psychologists, with few exceptions, no longer agree with James that an emotion is merely the consciousness of a physiological state, or with Lange that it simply consists in the physiological state; nor do they discard the physiological side of the emotions as lightly as Stumpf and others of the opposing group. They are practically all agreed that the emotions are more complex in their make-up, that they partake both of the physiological and of the psychic, although it does not seem to be possible to describe the latter in other than vague, suggestive terms.[5]

The Feelings and the Emotions Essentially Identical. There is less agreement in another very important matter on which the explanation of the words in groups C, D, E, and F hinges. I mean the relation of the emotions to the so-called sense-feelings, and the feelings that unquestionably accompany all other mental processes; and the relation of all of these to perception, thought, the instincts, and willing. Quite a large group, especially of older psychologists, most prominent among them James and Stumpf (antipodes in many other respects), draw a sharp line between the affective tone of mental processes and the emotions proper, claiming that they are fundamentally different. On the basis of this doctrine, it would be hard indeed to give anything like a satisfactory explanation of the hundreds of cases where names of perceptions (Ger. *heiter* 'clear' and 'cheerful'), names of thought processes (Skr. *smāra-* 'memory' and 'longing'), and names for the mind as a whole (Goth. *hugs* 'mind': OS *hugi* 'anger, courage') come to denote emotions

[1] Mind, New Series III, and Principles of Psychology 2, 480.

[2] Gemütsbewegungen (1887).

[3] Über den Begriff der Gemütsbewegungen, Zeitschr. f. Psych. 21, 63.

[4] Professor James's Theory of Emotions, Mind, NS. III; The Nature of Emotions, Phil. Rev. VII.

[5] Wundt, Titchener, Ribot, McDougall; for references see below. See also C. F. Stout, The Groundwork of Psychology 192ff.

of one kind or another. One would have to resort to the much overworked doctrine of association by contiguity which will solve all and every problem of semantic change as if by magic, while clearly it is the fundamental kinship of the affective tone of the percepts, the images, the trains of thought on the one hand, and the emotions on the other that brings about the transition. This fact of semantic development is one more reason added to others for assuming with Wundt, Titchener, Ribot, and McDougall the fundamental likeness of the affective tone and the emotional processes.[6]

These considerations have led me to believe in the complex, psycho-physical nature of the emotions, and to assume their identity, in substance, with the affective tone of all mental processes. Having reached a definite stand on these important questions, I may proceed to sketch in outline the psychology of the emotions.

2. The Emotions or Affective Processes, and Their Sub-Classes

All mental processes partake in some degree of the affective, some more, and others less.[7] The processes in which this aspect predominates over the perceptual are called *affective processes*, in popular language, *emotions* in the wider sense of the term.[8] These may be subdivided into *emotions* in the narrower sense of the term, into *passions*, and into *moods* or *sentiments*.

Emotions are usually aroused by a definite perception or idea, they set in with a shock, they have a swift and comparatively short descending course, involve, if violent, the entire being, and are only rarely accompanied by extensive thought elements. These characteristics are admirably clear in the case of fear and anger.

Passions have a constitutional stimulus, although they may also be aroused by definite sense perceptions or ideas; they are lasting, they may, like violent emotions, involve the whole being, and they are commonly centered about the persistent idea of the object involved.

[6] The close resemblance of the facial expressions accompanying bitter, sweet, and sour tastes to those going with certain emotions is other evidence in favor of this view; see James, Princ. of Psych. II, 48.

[7] Wundt, Vorlesungen 227ff; McDougall, Introduction 26ff.

[8] In the philological part of this thesis I shall use the popular term *emotion* rather than the technical *affective process*, even though the latter would be less subject to misunderstanding.

While the emotions contain only scattered thought elements and are on the whole inimical to thinking, passions often are real incentives to thinking though in a one-sidedly determined manner.[9]

Moods or sentiments are bound up with extensive trains of thought the trend of which they determine to a very large extent; they are in turn very easily influenced by thought. They are less intense than emotions and passions and more even and stable. The moods readily pass over into organized thinking; thinking readily comes under the influence of a mood. In many cases it would be hard to decide whether a certain process is a pensive mood or a moody thought. This close relationship of thought and mood serves to explain the fact that names of certain situations, i.e. in psychological terms, certain trains of thought, furnish names for moods.[10]

For our purposes, the subdivision of the affective processes into emotions and passions is of little significance, since practically any word for an emotion is also applied to the related passion, and since it is only rarely possible to tell whether the name was first applied to the emotion or to the passion. Such a rare case is presented by words with the original meaning 'shock,' which is characteristic only of the emotions. The third subdivision is of more importance to our study as already indicated.

3. The Physiological and the Psychic Aspect of the Emotions

All affective processes, emotions, passions, and moods as well, have a physiological and a psychic aspect.[11] The more striking and evident aspect is the physiological. The smile, the frown, the shrinking from and the reaching out for an object, the drooping and the straightening up of the body, the cry of anger, of joy, and of sorrow: these bodily expressions of the emotions, gestures in the

[9] A mere distinction of intensity like that assumed by Wundt has very little significance, if any. It would be hard to decide whether a violent fit of anger is less intense than, let us say, Romeo's passionate love.

[10] These definitions are chiefly based on Ribot, Essai sur les passions (1907). For an attempt to find names for the related instincts, emotions, passions, and sentiments see H. W. Warren, Psych. Rev. 26, 188.

[11] Wundt, Vorlesungen 230ff.

Titchener, Feeling and Attention 160ff., presents a modification of Wundt's theory of feeling and the emotions, which I accept.

McDougall, Introduction to Social Psychology 26.

widest sense of the term, are clearly the most palpable constituents of the emotional processes. It is this fact that has led physiologists and psychologists, Lange and James for instance, to assume that they are the essence of the emotions; that the psychic aspect either does not exist at all, or that it is a mere reflection of the former in consciousness.[12] I do not share this view, although I am very much impressed by the fact that hundreds of names of emotions are in their origin words describing the characteristic gestures that go with the stronger emotions and are so evident to the eye. The fact that we have so few names, if any, which at an earlier period were used of the psychic phase of the emotions,[13] need not, however, lead us to deny the actual existence of this factor, since it is one of the few firmly established doctrines of semantics that all the more complex and subtle mental processes are named according to their simpler and more tangible components.[14] Authorities who believe in a psychic aspect of the emotions, as Wundt, Titchener, McDougall, and Ribot find a powerful argument in the experimentally proven influence of thought proper upon the organs that respond most readily also to emotional excitement, i.e. the heart, the lungs, and the facial muscles, in a slighter degree also upon all other voluntary muscles.[15] If bodily changes, however small, go also with other than emotional processes, how can they constitute the substance of the emotions? Must they not rather be thought of as standing in the same relationship to both emotions and thought, even though they are so much more prominent in the former? The question is of considerable importance for the explanation of the cases gathered in group B. On the basis of Lange's view, the semantic change illustrated by Skr. *trasati* (a) 'shake,' (b) 'be afraid' (cf. also Gr. *τρέω* 'flee,' Lat. *terreo* 'frighten') would have to be taken merely as a narrowing of the meaning from (a) 'shake, as describing any object' to (b) 'shake, as confined to describing the body of man or animal.' James would have to assume a further shift from (b) to (c) 'consciousness of the shaking = the emotion of fear.' On the basis

[12] See Irons' criticism on the ground that not all bodily changes are emotions, and the challenge to James to produce a criterion, Mind. N. S. III.

[13] Ziegler, Das Gefühl 245.

[14] Wundt, Völkerpsychologie[3] II, 2, 555.

[15] Zoneff und Meumann, Über Begleiterscheinungen psychischer Vorgänge in Atem und Puls, Wundt Phil. Stud. XVIII (1903).

Lehmann, Körperliche Äusserungen psych. Vorgänge (1899–1905).

of the view I have adopted, on the other hand, the following development must be assumed: (a) 'shake, as describing any object, including the body of man and animal under the influence of emotion,' (b) 'be afraid = the emotion of fear.' The name of the gesture of the body (= the physiological phase of the emotion) is accordingly extended also to the subtler components of the emotion, and becomes a name for the entire mental process. This explanation corresponds more closely to the facts, I believe.[16]

4. The Emotions and the Will

That there exists a certain kinship between the emotions on the one hand and the instincts and volition on the other can not be doubted. Linguistic evidence also is in favor of assuming, at any rate, a close relationship of the two types of mental experience, if not their ultimate identity. For any word denoting instinctive tendencies and willing may come to denote, often in the same language, the emotions of desire, pleasure, hope, love, and so forth. Convenient examples are furnished by the etymological group to which our word *will* belongs: Skr. *vṛṇāti* 'desire, wish, long for,' Gr. ἐλπίς 'hope, anxiety,' Lat. *volo* 'to will,' *voluptās* 'pleasure,' OSl. *volja* 'will,' Lith. *vilus* 'I hope,' *pavelt* 'he wills.' The fundamental kinship of the instincts and of willing is conceded by most psychologists. Willing differs from the more elementary process of instinctive striving only in being much more complex, often embracing divergent tendencies and involved trains of thought. Their fundamental character is conceived of as a striving towards an object outside of self. Whether this constitutes a third distinct psychic element, as McDougall thinks, or whether it is to be regarded with James and Wundt[17] as a peculiar type of affective experience has no important

[16] For the best description of the psychic aspect of the emotions see Wundt, Vorlesungen 237ff., together with Titchener's wholesome criticism in his book on Feeling and Attention, esp. 160ff.

[17] James, Psychology, Briefer Course 415; apparently contradictory, Princ. of Psych. II, 562. But the author has here in mind the higher will processes in which reasoning forms a large and important part. Even so, his stand seems somewhat ambiguous.

Wundt, Phys. Psych.[5] III, 249ff. The gist of his conviction is summed up in the following manner: "Sucht man für das 'Streben' in dem Willensvorgang selbst ein diesem Ausdruck einigermassen entsprechendes Substrat zu finden, so bleibt man stets by gewissen Gefühlen stehen, die in diesem Falle wohl hauptsächlich den Richtungen der Spannungs- und Erregungsgefühle angehören, und die wir in dieser Verbindung wohl am zutreffendsten als Tätigkeitsgefühle bezeichnen können."

See also Wundt's admirable description of willing in his Vorlesungen 246–250.

bearing on our subject. I rather incline to the second view, since many emotions exhibit a decided striving towards an outer object and often lead to action in themselves, anger, fear, and desire among others. The only important difference between emotions and volitional processes is this that in the latter the reference to an outer object is more pronounced, and that in the higher types of volitional activity the object is clearly present in the mind in the form of an image or a concept. The rather attractive theory of James, Ribot, and McDougall that the emotions have sprung from the vital and social instincts, a view that has found many supporters in recent years (although present-day behaviorists have discarded it), is based on the belief that instincts and emotions are of quite different make-up. I regard instincts as emotions with a strong reference to an outer object.[18]

5. The Emotions and the Mind as a Whole

A brief statement in regard to the relation of the emotions to the mind as a whole is required for the explanation of a group of words which prior to becoming names for 'heart = gemüt' and then names of various emotions had such meanings as 'soul, mind,' as for instance the etymological group of our word *mind*: Skr. *manas-*, 'mind, reason, heart,' *māna-* 'zeal, anger,' Gr. *μένος* 'passion, anger, courage,' Lat. *mens* 'mind, heart, desire, gratitude,' etc. (see group E).

I have urged that all mental processes are compounds of thought elements and of affective elements, and that a process in which the former predominate is a thought process (perception, associative and inferential thinking, remembering), while processes which are predominantly affective are affective processes or emotions in the wider sense of the term. The same distinction applies to the mind as a whole, which not unlike the individual processes always is more or less unified. This unification arises from attention, if the content of consciousness at the given moment is chiefly thought; if the content is predominantly emotional, through the influence of the

[18] Wundt, Phys. Psych. III, 262: Instincts are "ein Komplex von Gefühlen und Affekten, aus denen sich dann allmählich, unter Einwirkung äusserer Eindrücke, bestimmte Motive herausbilden."

dominating emotion.[19] For not only do all the emotional elements that are in consciousness at a given time merge into each other, and form a strongly unified complex of a specific emotional character (which language may or may not be able to name), but this resulting emotion also determines the trend of thought. It brings on associations and memories akin to it in feeling, it directs constructive thinking into emotionally cognate channels, it predisposes the sense organs to receive only certain stimuli. In short, the mind as a whole, and if the emotion is very powerful also every element of the content of consciousness, is saturated with the dominating emotion. *Mind* in that case is *heart, gemüt.* One must not be surprised then that the semantic changes mentioned above take place in so many cases.[20]

6. The Feelings (Affective Tone) and Thought

In a previous section I have taken my stand with Wundt, Titchener, and Ribot in assuming that the emotions and the feeling aspect of thought are the same in substance; that they differ only in their relationship to the rest of consciousness. That is to say, in emotions or affective processes proper the affective element predominates and determines the lines along which consciousness is organized into a whole, while in the thought processes it is subsidiary to the controlling and unifying thought element. A feeling may however readily change into an emotion if it swells to such proportions that it submerges the thought element and comes to dominate over it. So the feeling attending the taste of a sweet substance may pass over into an emotion; so also does the contemplation of an object of art readily evolve from the state of esthetic enjoyment into a real, often very strong emotion; so do memories lead to genuine emotions.

If then we find that a word which originally denotes a thought process is also applied to emotions proper, we shall understand without any difficulty how the later meaning has developed. The

[19] Wundt, Phys. Psych. II, 357: "Diese zentrale Funktion der Apperzeption ist in jedem Augenblicke auch für den ganzen übrigen Bewusstseinsinhalt bestimmend, indem dessen sämtlichen Elemente nach ihrem Verhältnis zu den apperzepierten Elementen geordnet werden."

[20] Discussions of this doctrine are to be found in the following places:
Wundt, Phys. Psych. II, 341 ff; Vorlesungen 234ff. and 246.
Ribot, Essai sur les passions 27ff.
Stout, The Groundwork of Psychology 188ff.

emotions, in such cases, are simply named after the thought elements that give rise to them and that remain even after the emotional stage has been reached an essential part of them. That the reverse semantic development is rather rare is no matter of surprise; for the emotions are the most elusive mental processes, and do not submit themselves to analysis and clear definition which is a prerequisite to their direct expression in language.[21]

[21] This subject is dealt with most extensively and intensively by Wundt, Phys. Psych. III, 108ff.

THE SEMANTIC SOURCES OF THE WORDS FOR THE EMOTIONS

Outline of Classification

A survey of the names of feelings and emotions in the Indo-European languages in regard to their semantic sources leads to the following classification:

A. Names of the parts of the body most strongly affected by the emotions, as the heart, the breast, the gall, and the liver.

B. Words for the manifold expressive movements of the body that accompany the complex processes of the emotions, as vigor, weakness, a turning towards the object of the emotion, shaking, blushing, etc.

C. Words denoting sense perceptions commonly attended by a more or less defined feeling, as bright (visual), clear (auditory), sweet (gustatory), sharp (tactual), bear (muscular), burn (visceral).

D. Words denoting activities and external situations in which the collective experience of the individual commonly takes on a well defined emotional quality, as in playing, toiling, fighting, sharing in possessions, resting, and so forth.

E. Words denoting the mind as a whole, from which expressions (a) for 'heart,' (=mind controlled by emotion), and (b) for the various emotions are derived.

F. Words denoting thought processes, as perception, thought, and memory.

G. Names of emotions of Indo-European age whose origin can no longer be determined (not treated).[1]

The lines drawn in this classification are by no means rigid. It is, for instance, not always easy or even possible to decide whether a given mental experience the name of which has furnished an expression for one emotion or another, as 'burn' or 'boil,' belongs

[1] Notable examples are: the etymological group to which E. *will* belongs, with meanings like 'desire, wish; will; hope; love, lust'; the group of Skr. *kāma-* 'desire, longing, love, lust,' Lat. *cārus* 'dear,' OIr. *caraim* 'I love,' *cara* 'friend,' OE *hōr* 'whore' (from IE. *qā-*); Skr. *nid-* 'mockery, contempt,' Goth. *ganaitjan* 'revile,' Lett. *nâids* 'hatred,' and with a different determinative, Goth. *neiþ*, ON. *nīð* 'mockery, contempt,' OHG. *nīd* 'animosity,' NHG. *neid* 'envy' (IE. *nei̯-*).

to the realm of perception or to that of expressive movements. Such difficulties are due partly to the constitution of the human organism and partly to the state of the sciences dealing with it. Nor is it always possible to tell whether a given word or group of words originally described the physiological condition of the individual or the outward situation, as in the case of 'rest.' In cases of this kind all one can do is to trace the meanings of the words as closely as possible, and if no criterion can be discovered to confess the ambiguity.

Nevertheless, I believe that the grouping adopted here on the basis of a psychological analysis will serve the purpose of bringing out the nature of the semantic development of the great mass of words whose etymology is tolerably clear.

A. Names of the Parts of the Body Involved in Emotional Experiences

Of all parts of the body the organs not subject to the control of consciousness are probably more strongly affected in emotional experiences than any other. Every event of emotion, no matter how gentle, is registered by the heart, by the organs of respiration, and by the viscera. The heart-beat is accelerated or retarded, it becomes stronger or weaker, it remains regular or becomes erratic. Breathing grows faster or slower, deeper or shallower; it remains regular or becomes spasmodic (gasping, panting). The viscera 'burn,' are 'heavy,' and so forth, varying with the blood supply and the amount of secretion of the glands. These symptoms must of course strike any observer in any age, and in attempting to describe the emotion he will naturally give a description of the observed outward behavior, letting the other person supply the particular quality of the emotion from his own experience. In time, either with or without the loss of the original meaning, these descriptive terms may become real words for emotions of which the bodily expression only is a part.

I. The Heart

Words with the meaning 'heart' invariably become words for 'gemüt,' but the individual languages differ both in the extent to which they develop the later meaning, and as regards the fate of the earlier meaning which may be preserved or lost. Even for the parent tongue this shift has to be assumed as there is no evidence to the contrary. The second step in the semantic development by which 'gemüt' becomes the name of a single emotion is less universal

and belongs to the period when the dialects already had been formed. The emotions so named are sympathy, faith, courage, and anger. At this stage of development the original meaning 'heart' is frequently lost, which may be observed in the case of Skr. *çrad* 'faith.'

The typical development of the meaning of this group of words may be traced in Gr. *καρδία*. It exhibits the following stages:

a) A mere description of the behavior of the heart in certain emotional experiences is employed to convey the idea. *Καρδία* stands in these instances for the organ of the body; the psychic aspect of the emotion described is expressed by another word:

ὀρχεῖται δὲ κραδία φόβῳ Aesch. Cho. 167,
χόλῳ οἰδάνεται κραδίη Il. 9, 646.

b) *Κραδία* has come to be conceived of as the seat of the emotions, or as the entire complex of emotions and feelings in consciousness at a given time, as 'gemüt.' The organ may or may not be thought of; the psychic aspect of the emotion predominates:

ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴκανεν Il. 2, 171,
ἐκ τῆς καρδίας φιλεῖν Ar. Nub. 86.

c) The meaning has been limited from 'gemüt' to that of particular emotions. The limitations are in the beginning expressed by special modifiers, or else they are induced by the context. If the word in question is frequently used with certain modifiers or in set contexts, it absorbs their meaning, and in time the modifiers are omitted. This final stage does not seem to have been reached in the case of *καρδία*, where a certain context is still necessary to turn it into a name for a specific emotion:

κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντες (courage) Il. 16, 266.

These three stages a) 'heart,' b) 'gemüt,' c) specific emotions, form a series along which the semantic development always proceeds.

Gr. *κῆρ*, *καρδία*, Lat. *cor*, Goth. *hairtō* etc.; also Skr. *hṛd-*, Av. *zərəd-*. The oldest stem in this group clearly is the consonant stem **k̂erd-* with the normal, the reduced, and the lengthened grade of the vowel, as well as **k̂red-* from a disyllabic base. No difference in meaning to go with the different grades can be made out for the parent language.

Gr. *κῆρ* 'gemüt, desire, will' is confined in usage to epic and tragic poetry and, as far as I can see, stands for 'gemüt' and not for 'heart,' the organ. Typical Homeric phrases are *περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖν*,

ἀχνύμενος κῆρ; occasionally it takes on the meaning 'will,' as in

μετὰ σὸν καὶ ἐμὸν κῆρ Il. 15, 52,

but neither this nor any other name of a particular emotion is fully developed.

Καρδία, Hom. κραδίη, either a collective or an adjective in *-i̯a*, properly meant 'of the heart' (like the Lat. *prae-cordia*), as a subst. 'region of the heart,' and was further applied to all the inside organs; this is attested both by Gr. καρδία, which among other things means 'stomach' and by Lat. *praecordia* 'midriff; entrails, stomach; breast, heart (poet.).' Καρδία is the common Classical Greek word for 'heart' and the meanings springing from it. It must have supplanted κῆρ at a time when the latter had fully become a word for 'gemüt.' A similar relation exists between Skr. *hṛd-* 'gemüt' and *hṛdaya-* 'heart.' The semantic development of καρδία has been treated above.

Lat. *cor, cordis* resembles Gr. καρδία so very closely that it needs no separate treatment. The common phrase *sapere corde* 'to know in one's heart = feel' presents nothing new. Lat. *praecordia* only rarely stands for 'gemüt' as in *mūtāre praecordia* 'change one's heart or mind.'

The Germanic Languages have lost all traces of the consonant stem, replacing it in prehistoric times by **hertan-*, an *n*-stem, as in so many cases: Goth. *hairtō*, ON. *hjarta*, OE. *heorte*, OHG. *herza* 'heart; gemüt.' With the meaning 'gemüt' it enters into many compounds: ON. *hjart-blauðr* 'cowardly,' *hjarta-sāra* 'heart-sore, broken-hearted,' OE. *heort-ece* 'heart-ache,' MHG. *herze-leit, -liebe, -riuwe*, and many others. In these compounds, esp. in MHG., it is hardly more than an intensifier; it serves to bring out the inwardness and the profoundness of the emotion. No names for specific emotions are developed, although phrases like E. *have a heart* 'have courage or compassion' are found in all the dialects.

In Baltic a few remnants of the consonant stems have been preserved in OPruss. *seyr* (=κῆρ), and perhaps in the Lith. gen. pl. *szirdū* (Brug. II, 1, 132). OPruss. *seyr*, N., *sīras* M., and Lith. *szirdàs* F. have the usual meanings 'heart, inside organs' and 'gemüt'; the adj. Lith. *szirdìngas* 'sympathetic, kindly, merciful' shows the common specialized meaning 'sympathy.'

Slavic has replaced the consonant stem by the diminutive **sr̥dьcь*, OSl. *srŭdĭcĭ* 'heart,' Russ. *serdce* 'heart' and 'anger.' It has the usual range of meanings. Besides, most of the derivatives both

in Slavic and in Baltic develop the exclusive meaning 'anger, wrath, chagrin.' The most widely used are the following:

OSl. *srŭditi sę* 'be angry, annoyed' and the corresponding forms in the other dialects, Lith. *szirdýti-s* 'be angry'; OSl. *srŭditŭ* 'angry,' *srŭdiba* 'anger' and the corresponding forms in the dialects. These words are strictly words for 'anger,' the prior meaning 'gemüt' being lost altogether. That there was a tendency towards this shift also in the OSl. word for 'heart, gemüt' is shown by the fact that in Russian *serdce* stands both for 'heart' and for 'anger.'

In Indo-Iranian, **k̂red-* was replaced by **ĝhṛd-*, cf. Skr. *hṛd-*, Av. *zərəd-* (for the history of the palatals in Indo-Iranian see L. Bloomfield, JAP. 32, 36); it was preserved only in the stereotyped phrases Skr. *çrad kṛ-*, and *çrad dhā-*, and in the compound *çraddhā-* = Av. *zrazdā* (for **srazdā* through the influence of *zərəd-*, Barth. Wb. 1692). There is no trace of the original meaning and even the developed meaning 'gemüt' can only be inferred from the existing specialized 'trust, faith, belief, pledge' on the one hand, and 'desire, longing, curiosity' on the other. Skr. *çrad dhā-* meant literally 'set the heart (on something),' which, according to the context, was taken either as 'put faith (into something)' or as 'desire, long for.' Only the resulting stages survive in Sanskrit. The compound *çraddhā-*, Av. *zrazdā* adj. 'trusting, faithful, welcoming,' subst. 'trust, faith, faithfulness; desire, longing, curiosity' has the same history. The phrase Skr. *çrad kṛ-* also had the literal meaning 'produce heart = faith,' whence 'assure, warrant'; or else it is of later origin, containing *çrad* 'faith' which had arisen in the phrase *çrad dhā-*.

Skr. *hṛd-*, replaced in the nom. acc. sg. pl. by *hṛdaya-*, and Av. *zərəd-* primarily mean 'gemüt.' As a name of the organ this stem has been retained only in the compound Av. *zərədō. kərəta-* 'cutting out the heart.' Both in Skr. and in Av. the adjective in *-aya*, Skr. *hṛdaya-*, Av. *zərədaya-*, 'of the heart,' subst. 'region of the heart, inside of the body, heart, breast, stomach' took the place of the consonant stem to denote the organ. This derivative then undergoes a similar change to 'gemüt' but retains the older meanings also. The strong grade of the root appears in the secondary Vedic *hārdi-* 'bowels (of Indra); gemüt,' and in the compounds Vedic *su-hārd-* 'large-bowelled; good-hearted,' *dur-hārd-* 'evil-hearted,' *dāur-hārda-* 'animosity.' Their semantic development is parallel to that of *hṛdaya-*.

These words probably are a blend of IE. *k̑rd-* and the root *ĝher-* (Skr. *harati* 'delight in') which must have arisen in the Indo-Iranian period. Connection with Skr. *hirā-* 'vein,' Lat. *haru-spex* etc. (Bezzenberger, BB. 2, 191) is less probable.

II. The Breast

The breast holds the organs that respond most readily and most obviously in emotional experiences. It is not surprising then that like the individual organs it should come to be considered the seat of life and of the soul. Once this conception arises, the words that denote 'breast' are applied also to it, and the ground is prepared for a further development to 'gemüt' and to the various emotions of the heart.

Gr. *φρήν*. Of all the connections suggested for Gr. *φρήν* (see Boisacq) that with Goth. *brunjō* 'cuirass,' OHG. *brunnea*, etc., is the most probable (Wiedemann, BB. 27, 236). *φρήν, φρένες* appears to be the oldest of the group both in form and in meaning; *φρόνις, φρονέω* and all other forms from the root with the *o*-grade have drifted far away from the original significance of the root, denoting as they do intellectual activity. *εὐφραίνω* goes more closely with *φρήν*, while *φράδης* and *φράζω*, with a *d*-extension, approach *φρονέω*. Our chief concern is with *φρήν*.

If we accept the connection with Goth. *brunjō* 'cuirass' we are led to assume an earlier meaning 'breast'; but even if we were to reject it, Homeric usage would bring us to a similar conclusion. For wherever *φρήν* appears in Homer with the physical sense it refers to the parts about the heart, and not to the diaphragm as in later Greek, and the frequent use of the plural, as in *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ* Il. 8, 413, would seem to point in the same direction. Besides, it would be difficult indeed to explain how the diaphragm should come to be considered as the seat of life and of the soul, since its functions are so thoroughly concealed from the senses.

The stages in the semantic development of *φρήν* can be seen from the following examples:

a) *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ* Il. 8, 413;
φρεσί clearly refers to the part of the body harboring the organ that responds in the emotion.

b) *τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες αὐτῷ* Il. 10, 10; *φρένες* denotes here the part of the body affected in the emotion, i.e. the breast. The emotion is

described by its physiological phase; the psychological phase must be supplied by the reader.

c) *φρένα τέρπεσθαι φόρμιγγι* Il. 9, 186,
φρένας ἵκετο πένθος Il. 1, 362;

φρήν has become the seat of the emotions, whence the total complex of emotional experience, that is 'gemüt.'

φρήν does not turn into a name of any particular emotion. It may however in certain contexts absorb elements that make it into a word for 'desire, will.'

Its further development into a word for 'mind,' an equivalent of *νοῦς*, is of great interest but lies beyond our scope.

φρονέω 'be minded' and *φρόνημα* 'mind, spirit' refer to the mind as a whole; in all their other meanings they have come to be words for 'thinking.' All other derivatives from the root with the o-grade are exclusively words for 'thinking.'

εὐ-φραίνω on the other hand is a word of emotion; *-φραίνω* is on a level with *φρήν* 'gemüt,' while the prior member *εὐ-* expresses its specific trend towards pleasurable feeling or emotion. The abstract *εὐ-φροσύνη* is of the same structure.

III. The Viscera

That all the strong emotions are accompanied by physiological changes in the viscera was of course felt from the earliest times. The feeling of these changes naturally led to the assumption that they had their seat there. It is to be observed however that only certain emotions were thought of as residing in the viscera, that is, anger, resentment, and the like in Greek; sympathy, compassion, mercy among the Hebrews; while the heart and the breast harbor all kinds of emotions.

The stages in the semantic development correspond to those of the words for 'heart.'

Gr. *σπλάγχνα*; E. *bowels*. In Classical Greek, *σπλάγχνον*, more commonly *σπλάγχνα*, denotes a) the viscera, b) the viscera as involved in emotional experiences, i.e. in the emotions of anger, resentment, and irritation. *σπλάγχνα θερμαίνειν κότῳ* Ar. Ran. 844 is a typical phrase of Classical Greek, where *σπλάγχνα* does not become a word for 'anger' in the full sense.

In Hellenistic Greek, *σπλάγχνα* translates the Hebrew word for 'bowels,' which in that language had undergone a change to 'bowels

as the seat of the tender emotions,' and further to 'sympathy, pity,' a development utterly different from that in Classical Greek (see Thayer, Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, under σπλάγχνον).

σπλάγχνα was in turn rendered with its newly acquired meaning by *bowels* in the English version of the Bible: *Hou I coueit you alle in the bowelis of Jhesu Crist* Wycl. Phil. 1, 8; *If any bowels and mercies . . . .* Bible, Phil. 2, 1. From the Bible, it seems, the word found its way into secular literature with the meaning 'pity, mercy.' Carlyle, for instance, writes: *Had idle readers only bowels for him* Fred. Great V, XIII, 1. 2.

Whether E. *guts* in phrases like: *It grieved him to the guts* Butler Hud., develops this meaning independently or through the influence of the Biblical *bowels* I am not prepared to say definitely, although I believe that the latter was the case. For *guts* as an emotional term usually means 'vigor, daring,' as one may see from the forceful contrast in the following line: *Bloody Bonner . . . . full (as one said) of guts, and empty of bowels* Fuller Waltham Abb 274 (1840).

IV. Liver, Spleen, Gall, 'Black Gall'

Liver, spleen, gall, and 'black gall' or adrenum do not respond in emotional experiences in such a way as to be directly felt or perceived. Whatever changes they may undergo are not expressive movements that are as evident as the action of the heart, the breast, and the viscera. For this reason one must search for another explanation of the development of words for emotions from the names of these organs.

The Greeks were familiar with the physical and the psychic symptoms of jaundice: the accumulation of bile in the gall-bladder and the liver, the passing of bile into the blood, which gives to the skin a yellowish appearance, and the nervousness of the patient. From this state of affairs they inferred that the emotions of irritability, resentment, and anger were closely bound up with the 'overflowing' of the bile, perhaps even the causes of the effusion. They also believed that accumulation of adrenin or 'black gall' (μελάγχλωρος χολή, as opposed to χολή ξανθή 'bile') was a symptom of depression and sadness, of μελαγ-χολία. No matter how unfounded these beliefs may be, they were nevertheless their absolute convictions, which found their expression in the semantic development

of the words under consideration. Beliefs perform here what the perceived connection brings about in the case of the words for 'heart.'

These beliefs were accepted by the Romans and later by the other peoples of Europe and had their sway up to the beginnings of modern science. This fact is reflected in the language.

a. Gr. ἧπαρ, Lat. *iecur*. The IE. word for 'liver,' Skr. *yakṛt*, Gr. ἧπαρ Lat. *iecur*, becomes a word of emotion in Greek and in Latin, in the latter probably through the influence of the Greek. Its use for 'heart' seems however to be confined to poetry. The reasons for this development are to be found in the prevailing notion that the liver was involved in certain emotional experiences, chiefly in anger, resentment, and chagrin, but also in others like anguish and love. The following examples serve to bring out the usage in Greek:

χαλεπὰ γὰρ ἔσω θεὸς ἧπαρ ἄμυσσεν Theocr. 13, 71;

χωρεῖ πρὸς ἧπαρ . . . . δύη Soph. Aj. 937.

Among Latin authors Horace is especially fond of it as a strong, concrete expression for 'anger, resentment':

Nōn ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve Epistle 1, 18, 72.

English *liver* and German *leber* are occasionally associated with anger and fear, perhaps through the influence of the classical tradition:

To quench the coale that in his liver glowes Shak. Lucr. 47;

white livered 'cowardly' Shak. Bac. Dryd. and others;

Es ist ihm etwas über die leber gelaufen 'he is peeved.'

b. Gr. σπλήν (*σπληγχ) 'spleen, milt,' σπλῆνες 'affections of the spleen'; σπληνικός 'of the spleen,' also 'splenetic, hypochondriac' have a semantic history which resembles very closely that of σπλάγχνα in Classical Greek. E. *spleen* is borrowed from the Greek.

c. Gr. χόλος, χολή, Lat. *fel*, OHG. *galla*, etc. Three stages may be noted in the development of these words. They denote a) the organ or its secretion, or both, b) the organ or its secretion as thought to be affected in the emotions of anger, resentment, bitterness, and the like, c) these emotions themselves. In some languages the shift progresses further than in others, and in a given language different stem-forms may be confined to different stages.

Gr. χόλος only rarely has the physical sense. Even in a verse like χόλῳ ἄρα σ' ἔτρεφε μήτηρ Il. 16, 203 the emotion or passion is thought of primarily. As a rule χόλος denotes the emotion as in χόλος λάβεν τινά Il. 1, 387, and in χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ Il. 9, 436. The

organ is designated by χολή, which in turn only rarely appears as a word for 'anger.'

The derivatives are even further removed in meaning from their source than χόλος: χολόω 'to anger, mid. grow angry,' and especially χαλεπός 'angry, cruel, harsh, stern' and as applied to objects 'difficult, dangerous, rugged,' the feeling element becoming subordinate to the perception.

Lat. *fel*, *fellis* 'gall-bladder, bile' is used practically only to denote the organ, although the poets use it occasionally in the sense of 'bitterness, animosity' (cf. *bīlis* below).

ON. *gall*, OE. *ȝealla*, OHG. *galla* show a development parallel to that in Greek in most respects, although the records of the earlier period are too scant to warrant too much certainty. The meanings 'anger, resentment, bitterness' are up to the present time quite common besides the original 'gall-bladder, bile.' A further development is found in the meaning 'assurance, impudence' of American slang, which is easily understood if one realizes that the emotions of anger, resentment, etc., are always characterized by a display of vigor and strength.

The Slavic words tend in the same direction: Russ. *želčĭ* 'bile; irritation, malice, quick temper.'

d. Gr. μελαγ-χολία, Lat. *bīlis atra*, OE. *sweart ȝealla*. 'Black gall,' μελαγ-χολία (also μελάγ-χλωρος χολή), was thought to accumulate in the adrenum in prolonged depression, sadness, grief. To have μελαγ-χολία was therefore a way of saying that these emotions were present. Through such phrases the term in the end became a name for these emotions in the full sense among the Greeks. The Romans and the Teutonic peoples transliterated the term or borrowed it with the developed meaning. In OE. *ȝealla* and the adj. *ȝealliȝ* by themselves occasionally are used in the sense of 'sadness' and 'sad.'

e. Lat. *bīlis*, *bīle*, Welsh *bustl*. Besides *fel*, Latin employes *bīlis* to denote the bile. But the usage of the two terms differs in that *fel* is applied almost exclusively to the organ while *bīlis* becomes a word for the emotions of 'anger, wrath, choler, indignation.' The intermediary step may be illustrated by a quotation from Horace:

bīlis inaestuat praecordiīs Epode 11, 16;

the fully developed emotional meaning by a passage from Plautus:

nōn placet mihi cēna, quae bīlem movet Bacch. 3, 6, 8.

B. Words Denoting Physiological Expressions (Gestures) of the Emotions

The relation of the physiological aspect to the psychic aspect of the emotions has been discussed in the chapter on the psychology of the emotions, pp. 3–5. There I have emphasized the importance of the gestures of the body for the naming of the emotions. For it is these expressive movements, so evident to the eye and to the other senses, that are first given names which later on are extended to denote the emotion as a whole of which they are only the outward manifestation. How these movements themselves are named lies not within the range of this discussion. For our interest is centered upon the problem how words once applied to gestures become names of emotional experiences.

The bodily expressions of emotional experiences whose names have come to designate emotions may be grouped under the following heads:

I. Display of Vigor
II. Appearance of Weakness or Weariness
III. Turning towards the Object of the Emotion
IV. Excitement and Calmness
V. More Specific Gestures
VI. Vocal Expression of Emotions

These groups will be discussed in regard to their relation to certain emotions which derive their names from them in connection with the linguistic material.

I–II. Display of Vigor, and Appearance of Weakness or Weariness

Vigor and weakness, both as regards the general appearance of the body and specific symptoms thereof, are striking characteristics of certain emotions; so much so that they have been made the basis of a pragmatic classification of the emotions by numerous writers.[1]

We should expect therefore to find expressions for 'vigor' and for 'weakness,' and for certain symptoms of vigor and weakness, as 'swell, grow, rise, move lively,' and 'droop, pass away, move slowly' turning into words for certain emotions of which the particular gesture is a part. And we are not disappointed. Words for '(violent)

[1] Ziegler, Das Gefühl 238.

passion,' for 'anger, spite,' for 'courage,' for 'arrogance, haughtiness' for 'determination, willing,' as well as for 'gaiety, mirth = exciting joy,' and for 'hope,' in short, words for all the "sthenic" emotions go back to words for 'vigor' and its particular symptoms; while words for 'sadness,' for 'suffering,' and for a kind of 'quiet joy, happiness' have their origin in the expressions for 'weakness, weariness' which are the general outward signs of the "asthenic" emotions.

I. Display of Vigor

1. Words with the general meaning 'vigor, strength' furnish expressions for 'passion,' for 'daring, courage,' for 'will, determination,' for 'consolation, fortitude,' and for 'joy, gaiety, mirth.'

a. Gr. *ὀργή* 'heart; wrath,' OIr. *ferg* 'anger, wrath.' The meaning 'strength, vigor' from which the meanings of Gr. *ὀργή* 'temper, disposition, heart' and the later 'passion, anger, wrath,' and of OIr. *ferg* 'anger, wrath' are derived, is seen in Skr. *ūrj-*, *ūrjā-*, as applied primarily to foods, but also to the physical and mental strength of man. Gr. *ὀργάω* also retains the original physical meaning 'be fertile' (also *ὀργάς γῆ* 'fertile land') besides the developed 'swell with lust, be eager, excited'; while the other derivatives, *ὀργίζω* 'to anger, mid. grow angry,' *ὀργίλος* 'passionate, inclined to anger,' present only the final stage of the semantic development.

For a different interpretation of Skr. *ūrj-* see Bloomfield, JAOS. 35, 287.

b. Skr. *dharṣati* 'be bold, dare,' *dhṛṣṭa-* 'bold'; Gr. *θάρσος* 'courage, boldness,' *θρασύς* 'bold, spirited,' and numerous derivatives with similar meanings; Goth. *ga-dars* pret. pres. 'he dares,' and the related words in the other Germanic dialects; Lith. *drąsùs* 'bold,' *drę̀sù* 'I dare'; OSl. *drŭzŭ* 'bold,' *drŭzati* 'be bold.'

IE. *dhers-* 'bold' can hardly be separated from IE. *dher-* contained in Skr. *dhārayati* 'hold, carry, support,' *dharman-* 'support; law'; Lat. *firmus* 'firm, strong.'

c. NHG. *tapfer* 'sturdy, brave' is the direct descendant of MHG. *tapfer* 'firm, stout, heavy; important,' OHG. *tapfar* 'heavy; weighty.'

For the earlier meaning compare OSl. *doblĭ* 'strong, sturdy' (Wood, JAP. 19, 42).

d. Skr. *mayas-* 'invigoration, refreshment,' whence 'cheer, gladness, joy,' emotions in which both the feeling and the bodily expres-

sion of vigor are prominent; cf. Skr. *minōti* 'fix, establish' (Whitney, Roots 120).

e. Skr. *mahatē* 'be glad, rejoice at,' *mahayati* 'gladden; exalt, esteem, honor' (cf. Goth. *mikiljan* 'praise': *mikils* 'great'), *mahas-* 'feast, festival' (cf. Ger. *hoch-zeit*, E. *hey-day*), *mahyu-* 'joyful, merry'; Lith. *mẽgti* 'please,' *mẽgùs* 'pleasure loving'; Lat. *mactus* 'celebrated, praised, consecrated, honored by gifts,' *macte* 'hail' (Walde 452).

Walde and Uhlenbeck separate this group from Skr. *mah-*, Av. *maz-* 'great, mighty' on semantic grounds. It is true that in Sanskrit where the two meanings occur side by side the one is confined to the adjective, the other to the verb and some nominal derivatives of it, but this situation is not so unusual, and does not warrant a separation of the words; cf. E. *high: haughty*.

f. OE. *ȝāl* 'proud, arrogant,' n. 'pride, arrogance,' OHG. *geil* 'savage, petulant, wanton, arrogant; merry,' *az-geil* 'pleasure in eating'; with a decided change to 'glad, merry, happy' besides the earlier 'wanton, exuberant,' MHG. *geil* and *geilen*; Goth. *gailjan* 'make glad.'

The semantic development resembles that of Gr. ὀργή, and of Skr. *mayas-*. The prevalent 'arrogant, voluptuous' from which such meanings as OE. 'proud' and MHG. 'merry, happy' take their origin is derived from 'strong, vigorous, luxuriant,' meanings which have been preserved in German dialects up to the present day: Upper German *geil* 'rich (soil)' and 'luxuriant (plants)'; while MHG. *geil*, denotes 'fetter boden, ackerland.'

Falk-Torp 306 connects the Germanic words with IE. *gheį-* 'yawn, hiāre,' whence 'lustful, passionate.' But the connection is very remote and necessitates the derivation of the physical meanings from the subjective.

The development assumed here makes it necessary to separate Lith. *gailùs* 'sharp, bitter,' *gaĩlu* 'suffering, pain,' OSl. *žĕlja* 'mourning, grief.' These words form a group by themselves.

2. Words denoting 'grow, rise, swell' as descriptive of the behavior of the body in the joyful emotions of 'pleasure, enjoyment, joy, happiness, hope,' and in the emotions of 'haughtiness' and 'resentment, anger.'

a. Skr. *vardhati* 'make grow, strengthen,' whence 'arouse, cheer, gladden, inspire,' *vṛddha-* 'grown up, strong,' whence 'glad, cheerful, joyful, exalted,' *vṛddhi-* 'growth, thriving,' whence 'happiness, delight, enthusiasm, inspiration.'

b. Gr. σπαργάω, originally 'swell (to bursting)' like Lith. *sprógti* 'burst (of buds), break'; the Greek develops the emotional sense 'swell with passion or desire = be passionate, covetous, insolent,' in which the image of the gesture no doubt retains a place.

c. Lat. *turgeo* 'swell,' also 'grow angry'; *tumeo* 'swell' and 'swell with passion, anger, pride,' *tumor* 'swelling' and 'passion, anger, pride,' *contūmax* 'spite'; IE. *teu̯-* with various extensions. Cf. Skr. *tavīti* 'be strong.'

d. OHG. *belgan* 'swell,' refl. 'grow angry,' OE. *belȝan*, OS. *belgan* 'swell,' whence 'grow angry'; MHG. *belgen* 'make angry,' besides the earlier 'make swell'; OHG. *gi-buluht* 'anger,' MHG. *ā-bulge* 'grudge.'

The earlier meaning is seen also in the related OIr. *bolgaim*.

e. Goth. *ga-baurjaba* 'gladly, willingly,' *ga-baurjōþus* 'vergnügen'; MHG. *en-bœren* 'be excited with joy, grief, despair, hatred, resentment,' NHG. *sich empören* 'resent'; cf. Goth. *beran*, E. *bear*. For the semantic development compare E. *uplifting*, G. *getragen*.

3. Words denoting 'move lively, hop, skip' furnish expressions for 'be cheerful, gay, merry.'

a. ME. *gai*, E. *gay* from the OFr. *gai*, which in turn is borrowed from the OHG. *gāhi* 'quick, sudden'; cf. MHG. *gæhe*, NHG. *jähe* 'quick, sudden,' NHG. *jäh-zorn* 'quick temper.'

b. Lat. *ex-sulto*, *exulto* 'spring, leap, or jump up,' whence 'exult, be petulant; rave, vaunt,' *ex-sultim* 'with a bound' and 'friskily, frolicsomely.' The emotional meaning is confined to this compound. The simple verb *salto* 'hop, dance' and the simple noun *saltus* 'leap, bound' do not develop that meaning.

c. Skr. *lasati* 'strive after, enjoy, play,' *laṣati* (**la-ls-ati*) 'desire,' *lālasa-* 'desirous, ardent, craving,' *ul-lāsa-* 'joy, happiness, etc.', *abhi-lāsa-* 'desire, wish'; Gr. λιλαίομαι (λι-λασ-ιο-μαι) 'desire earnestly, long for,' λῆνις 'Bacchantee' (Boisacq 581); Goth. *lustus*, OE. *lust*, OHG. *lust*, 'pleasure, delight; inclination, desire,' ON. *lysta*, OE. *lystan*, E. *list*, OHG. *lusten*, *gi-lusten*, NHG. *gelüsten* 'be delighted, pleased; desire, wish'; Russ. *lasa* 'nascher.'

From an extended root, Lat. *lascīvus* 'petulant, playful; luxuriant' (Walde 415); OSl. *laskajǫ*, *laskati* 'flatter,' Russ. *laskájo*, *laskátь* 'liebkosen,' *laska* 'liebkosung, wohlwollen,' Czech *laska* 'love' (Berneker 691 separates these words from the group above for semantic reasons).

Evidence of the pre-emotional meaning is found in Skr. *lasati* 'play,' *lāsa-* 'bounding, hopping, moving back and forth, dance.' The formally identical *lasati* 'shine, appear,' Gr. λάω 'look' may have had some influence on the development of the meaning, at least in Sanskrit.

II. Appearance of Weakness

1. Words with the general meaning 'weak, weary' turn into expressions for 'sad, dejected; sorrow, grief.'

a. Ved. *çrāmyati, çramati* 'take pains, labor,' *çrama-* 'exertion, labor,' *çaçramāna-* 'taking pains (esp. in preparing a sacrifice)'; in Classical Sanscrit these words lose their earlier significance and take on meanings like 'grow weary; weariness': *klāmati* 'grow weary, exhausted,' *klama-* 'fatigue, weariness,' *klānta-* 'tired,' whence 'languid, dejected, sad' (on variation *çr-: kl-* see Wack. Ai. Gr. I, §201; Meillet, MSL. 8, 298).

Only the late Skr. *klānta-* becomes a word for an emotional state, and there can be no doubt but that the meaning 'sad' develops directly out of 'weary,' since the two states are very much alike both in their physiological expression and in their feeling value. The related Gr. κλαμαρός·πλαδαρός,ἀσθενής Hes., Welsh *claf* 'sick,' OIr. *clam* 'leprous' have the earlier meanings.

b. Skr. *tāma-* 'longing, desire'; OSl. *tomiti* 'vexare.' For the earlier meaning compare Skr. *tāmyati* 'be winded, suffocated, be stunned, swoon, be exhausted,' and Lat. *tēmulentus* 'intoxicated.'

c. Skr. *mlāyati* 'wither, grow weak, exhausted,' whence 'droop (as an expression of weariness, suffering, sorrow)' and 'feel sorrow, grief.' The semantic development indicated is confined to later Sanskrit. Ved. *mlāta-* (only once in RV.), like the Av. *mrāta-* means 'tanned = softened by tanning.' There are numerous related words from this secondary base IE. *mlā-* 'soft, weak' (from IE. *mol-* in Lat. *molo*, Goth. malan): Gr. βλαξ 'slack; stupid,' OIr. *mlāith* 'soft,' Lith. *blōgas* 'weak, soft,' and so forth.

d. Av. *hšī-*, gen. *hšyo* 'distress, misery' goes with the verb *hšayo* inf. 'in order to destroy,' Skr. *kṣayati, kṣināti* 'destroy, mid. grow exhausted,' Gr. φθίνω 'decay, waste away, perish' (Barth. ZDMG. 50, 721).

2. Words for 'droop' come to mean 'sad.'

a. OE. *drēorig* 'sad,' E. *dreary*, OHG. *trūreg*, NHG. *traurig* 'sad, mournful,' OHG. *trūrēn*, NHG. *trauern* 'mourn, be sad'; cf. OE.

drēosan, Goth. *driusan* 'fall down,' OE. *drēorig* 'gory, bloody = dripping.'

The terms were descriptive of the 'drooping' body in mourning, sadness, rather than of 'casting down' the eyes, as Falk-Torp 162 suggest.

3. Words for 'slow' furnish expressions for 'grief, sorrow' and for 'longing.'

a. Goth. *trigō* 'reluctance, grudge; grief, sorrow,' ON. *tregi* 'difficulty, reluctance; grief, sorrow,' *hug-tregi* 'grief, affliction,' OE. *trega* 'pain', OS. *trega*, *trāgi* 'reluctance, discouragement'; ON. *trega* 'grieve,' OS. *tregan* 'be sorry.' The adjectives ON. *tregr* 'slovenly, unwilling,' and esp. OHG. *trāgi* 'slow, lazy' retain the older meaning. The verbs and the nouns have come to denote the behavior of the body in 'reluctance' and the emotions of 'suffering, grief, sorrow,' and then these emotions themselves. Further connections are given in Falk-Torp 1292.

b. MHG. *sene* 'longing, yearning,' *sene-sieh*, and numerous other compounds; *senen*, NHG. *sich sehnen* 'to long for, yearn.' From OHG. *sine* 'marceo, langeo,' probably connected with MHG. *seine*, OE. *sēne* 'lazy.'

III. Turning Towards the Object of the Emotion

Many emotions are obviously directed towards a more or less specific object (cf. pp. 5–7). This trait finds expression in the movements of the body. An angry person will 'oppose, attack, pursue' the object that arouses his emotion; a person desiring a thing or longing for it will 'stretch out' his arms towards it, or his entire body will 'incline' towards it; 'striving, hastening' after the object are characteristic of desire, zeal, greed; 'grasping, clinging to' the object go with desire, greed, faithfulness; the thing desired, expected, hoped for will be 'looked for, waited for.'

Since these movements are the most evident and striking constituents of the emotions, and since they can be described in physical terms like the movements of any other object they are the first to be named; and the words denoting these expressive movements then naturally become terms for the emotion as a whole. Expressions like 'stretch out towards' come to mean 'long for, hope,' 'attack, pursue' turn into 'grow angry, hate,' and so forth.

1. Words for 'hasten, speed, strive' furnish expressions for 'zeal, desire, longing, envy, joy.'

a. Gr. σπουδή 'haste, speed,' whence 'zeal, exertion; seriousness; pl. party feelings, attachments, rivalries'; σπουδάζω, σπουδαῖος, derivatives of σπουδή with corresponding meanings; σπεύδω 'urge on, quicken; intr. hasten,' whence 'be eager.' The noun presents a variety of emotional meanings besides the earlier physical sense which is more common in the verb. Related to Lith. *spudìnti* 'hasten, flee = press on,' and *spáusti* 'press' (Wood, AJP. 21, 181).

b. Ved. *spṛhayati* 'desire; be in need of,' *spārha-* 'desirable, enviable, precious' (Geldner, Gloss. 206), Skr. *spṛhā-* 'desire, longing, delight,' also 'envy'; Av. *ā-sparəza-* 'be striving, desirous.' Gr. σπέρχομαι 'be hasty,' also with the connotation 'be angry,' σπερχνός 'hasty, eager,' OHG. *springan* 'spring, bound, jump' (with *n*-infix), preserve the earlier meaning of this root, which is an extension of IE. *sper-* in Lat. *sperno* 'reject,' Gr. σπείρω 'scatter, sow' (cf. Persson, Beiträge 644, 871).

c. Skr. *gṛdhyati* 'hasten, speed, strive for,' whence 'be eager, greedy; long for, wish for,' *gṛddha-* 'eager, desirous of, longing for,' *gṛdhnu-* 'quick,' whence 'eager, greedy, desirous,' *gardha-* 'eagerness, desire'; Goth. *grēdus* 'hunger,' ON. *grāðr*, OE. *ȝrād* 'greed,' E. *greed*, OHG. *grātig* 'greedy'; MIr. *grad* 'love.' The original meaning 'hasten, speed, strive for' is well attested for the Sanskrit; 'desire, long for, love' as well as 'hunger, greed' arise from this earlier meaning.

d. Gr. ζῆλος 'rivalry, emulation; envy, jealousy,' ζητέω 'seek, search after,' whence 'desire.' The development of the emotional meanings appears from ζητέω itself; the earlier meaning is retained in δίζημαι 'seek out, look for.' Compare also the related δίεμαι speed,' and διώκω 'pursue, drive away' (Sommer, Griech. Lautstudien 157); OHG. *zilōn* 'hasten, strive, aim', NHG. *zielen* 'aim,' *ziel* 'aim.'

Solmsen, IF. 14, 433ff., also assumes a similar semantic development, but compares Skr. *yāvan-* 'assailant, persecutor'; Sommer's connection has the advantage of being less remote.

e. Skr. *arthin-* 'striving, desirous; wooing for, libidinous,' *artha-* 'aim, business' probably are from an extension of the root found in Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-ti* 'set into motion, etc.' (Grass. Wb. 99).

f. Skr. *īhate* 'strive for, desire,' *īha-* 'attempt, endeavor,' *īhā-* 'wish,' *īhāvant-* 'zealous, brave'; Av. *izyeiti* 'desire,' *īžā-* 'zeal,'

āzi- 'greed.' No earlier meaning than that of 'striving' can be adduced.

g. Skr. *vanati, vanōti* 'be zealous, jealous; beg for, obtain,' also 'win, triumph, conquer' (for the latter meaning compare OE. *winnan* 'toil, strive; suffer'), *vanas-* 'desire, wish,' *vanu-* 'zealous, desirous' *vanin-* 'desirous; gracious, liberal'; *vāñchati* 'desire, wish; like, love'; Av. *vanaiti* 'wish, love' and 'conquer, win,' *vantā-, vantu-* 'beloved, wife.'

Lat. *venus, veneris* 'love, charm, grace,' *Venus* 'goddess of love,' *venustus* 'pleasing, graceful, beautiful, comely,' *veneror* 'adore with religious awe; implore.'

OIr. *fonn* 'pleasure,' adj. 'desirous,' E. *fun*, borrowed in the 18th century; *toisc* (**to-venski-*) 'wish, desire' (Strachan, IA. 4, 103).

ON. *una* 'enjoy, be happy,' besides 'dwell, abide,' Goth. *unwunands* 'joyless' (once only); OE. *wyn(n)*, OHG. *wunnea* 'delight, pleasure, joy'; ON. *vinr*, OE. *wine*, OHG. *wini* 'friend'; ON. *vin-gōlf* 'mansion of bliss, Valhǫll'; Goth. *wēns* 'hope,' ON. *vān* (*ōn*), OE. *wēn*, OHG. *wān*, NHG. *wahn* 'opinion, supposition; hope'; Goth. *wēnjan* 'wait for, hope,' ON. *vǣna*, OE. *wēnan*, E. *ween*, OHG. *wānēn*, NHG. *wähnen* 'ween, think, hope'; ON. *ōsk*, OE. *wȳsc*, E. *wish*, OHG. *wunsk* 'wish'; ON. *ȳskja*, OE. *wȳscean*, OHG. *wunsken* 'wish' (cf. Skr. *vāñchati*).

All from IE. *ɣen-* 'strive,' cf. p. 58. The development proceeds from 'strive' to 'desire, wish,' whence to 'pleasure, joy; friend,' and to 'expectation, hope.'

h. OHG. *frawī, fro(w)ī*, OS. *frāo, frō-mōd*, E. *fro-lic-some* (from the Dutch) 'glad, merry,' OHG. *frawida* 'joy, gladness,' *frawen, frewen*, NHG. *erfreuen* 'make glad,' *frawōn* 'be glad'; cf. ON. *frār* 'lively, quick, fast.' Derived from the IE. prep. *pro-* with *ɣo*-suffix; the semantic development probably proceeded from 'forward' to 'quick, fast,' and then to 'glad.' Hirt, Neuhochdeutsche Etym. 202, compares the HG. words directly with Skr. *pravatē* 'jump up, hop, hurry'; but both the HG. and the Skr. words have the appearance of late formations.

OHG. *un-fruot* 'not glad,' *fruotī* 'gladness; verständigkeit'; the other Germanic dialects develop in the direction of the intellectual: Goth. *frōþs*, ON. *frōðr*, OE. *frōd* 'wise'; cf. also Lith. *prōtas* 'intelligence.' All from IE. *prō-to-*.

i. Skr. *prīnāti* 'please, gladden, rejoice,' *priya-* 'pleasing to, dear; loving, fond of,' m. 'friend, lover, husband,' n. 'love, kindness, favor'; Av. *frīnā̊ti* 'love, praise,' OSl. *prijati* 'favor,' *prijatelĭ* m. 'friend, lover' cf. OHG. *fridila* 'beloved, wife'; OIr. *rīar* (**prijarā*) 'will, desire'; Goth. *frijōn*, OE. *frīȝan*, ON. *frīa* 'love'; MHG. *vrīen* 'woo.' With a *t*-suffix: Skr. *prīti-* 'pleasure, delight; friendship, love'; ON. *friðr* 'love, peace,' OE. *friþu*, OHG. *fridu* 'peace'; Goth. *friþōn* 'reconcile,' *freidjan* 'protect,' OHG. *frīten* 'favor.' No pre-emotional meaning is extant; but it is probable that these words are derivatives of the prep. IE. *prī-*, and that their semantic history runs parallel to that of the group above.

j. Gr. *κῆδος* 'care, trouble; anxiety, sorrow,' *κήδω* 'take care of,' rarely (CIG. 2523 = Paton and Hicks, Inscr. of Cos 163), usually from Homer on with the meaning 'trouble, distress, vex' (separated from *κῆδος* by Walde 111 for semantic reasons); Av. *sādrəm* 'sorrow, suffering, anguish'; Osc. *brateis auti cadeis amnud* 'grātiae aut inimīcitiae causā' (Buck, Osc. Umb. Gram. 235); Goth. *hatis* 'anger, hatred,' *hatizōn* 'be angry,' OHG. *haz* 'hatred,' etc.; Ir. *caiss*, Welsh *cās* 'hatred,' Corn. *cueth*, Bret. *cuez* 'chagrin, regret.'

Further, Gr. aor. *κέκαδον* 'force to retire from, deprive of,' *κεκαδόμην* 'give way, shrink back'; OHG. *hetzen* 'pursue, hunt,' which give the clue to the semantic history of the words above. The sense of 'hatred, anger' clearly goes back to the notion of 'attack, pursue,' while the meanings 'care, sorrow' of Avestan and Greek are derived from a different kind of 'turning to,' i.e. 'turn one's attention to = care for, take care of', which is still evident in inscriptional *κήδω* 'take care or charge of' as well as in *κῆδος* 'care, anxiety.'

2. Words for 'stretch out' come to denote 'desire, will, hope.'

a. OHG. *spanan*, pret. *spuon* 'locken, reizen,' *spennan* 'verlocken, anreizen'; OHG. *spanst*, *gi-spanst* 'verlockung, trug,' NHG. *wider-* and *ab-spenstig*; Lat. gen. *spontis*, abl. *sponte* in phrases like *meā sponte* 'of my free will,' *suā sponte esse* 'to be one's own master.' The meanings 'make desire' and 'will' are derived from 'stretch, stretch out towards,' as shown by OHG. *spannan* 'stretch,' *spinnan* 'spin,' from a base IE. *spen-*, related to *spē-* in the words below. The *n*-extension arises in the *nō*-present, OHG. *spanan* representing an ultimate **spə-nō-* (Persson, Beitr. 394, 411).

b. Lat. *spēs*, *spērēs* (later gen. *spēī* in analogy to *rēī*) 'hope, anxiety, apprehension,' *spērāre* 'hope, expect'; OSl. *spěchŭ* 'studium';

from an *s*-extension of IE. *spē-* 'stretch.' The prior meaning may be observed in OSl. *spěti* 'jacere, proficere,' *pri-spěti* 'venīre,' from an unextended base IE. *spē-*.

3. Words meaning 'look towards, wait for' furnish expressions for 'expectation, hope,' and for 'desire, greed.'

a. Skr. *adhi-īkṣatē* 'be expectant, anxious, concerned,' *ava-īkṣatē* 'be expectant, hopeful.' The simplex *īkṣatē* has only the earlier literal meaning 'look, look at' and the general sense 'perceive, consider'; cf. Skr. *akṣi-* 'eye,' Lat. *oc-ulus*.

b. Lith. *geidziù*, *geĩsti* 'desire, long for,' *geidìmas* 'desire,' *gaidùs* 'friend,' *geidáuju* 'I long for'; OHG. *gīt*, 'greed, miserliness,' Goth. *gaidw*, OE. *ȝēd*, *ȝād* 'want.' OPruss. *gēide* 'they are waiting for' (Berneker, Preuss. Spr. 290), OSl. *zĭdǫ* 'wait, expect' exhibit the earlier meaning of this group of words. The Lithuanian words have become names for the emotions of 'desire, longing' which go with 'waiting,' whence also 'love.' The meaning of the Germanic words shifts through 'desire' to 'strong desire, greed.'

Lith. *gẽziů-s* 'have an intense desire,' Goth. *faihu-geigan* 'covet money,' *faihu-geigō* 'greed, covetousness' are perhaps remotely related to this group, representing a *ĝh*-extension of the IE. base *gheį-*.

c. OE. *hopian* 'hope,' *tō-hopa* 'hope'; MHG. *hoffen* 'hope' (not preserved in OHG. documents, appearing first at about 1150, Kluge Wb. 170). The sense of 'hope, expectancy' may have come through 'waiting for, expecting' from 'lying in ambush,' if OE. *hopian* is a denominative of OE. *tō-hop* 'ambush.' OE. *tō-hop* is rightly connected with Lat. *cubāre* 'lie, recline' (Holthausen, IF. 20, 322, Walde 205).

Jespersen, Nord. Tidscr. f. Fil. 8, 151, connects E. *hope*, Ger. *hoffen* with E. *hop*, comparing the semantic development to that of Lat. *exsulto* (*:salto*), and taking OE. *tō-hop* as 'zu-flucht, refuge'; improbable.

4. Words for 'grasp' come to mean 'desire, greed.'

a. OSl. *žędati*, *žęždǫ* 'be thirsty, expect, desire,' *žędĕti* 'desire,' *žęžda* 'thirst,' *žędĭnŭ* 'thirsty'; Lith. *pa-si-gendù* 'long for, desire,' *godĕti-s* 'be greedy,' *gōdas* 'greed.' These words go in form very closely with Gr. χανδάνω 'grasp,' Lat. *pre-hendo* 'grasp, take hold of,' Goth. *bi-gitan* 'obtain, find, chance upon,' OE. *ȝitan* 'obtain, get.'

5. Words for 'stick to, cling to' turn into expressions for 'desire, love.'

a. Gr. γλίχομαι 'cling to, strive after,' whence 'long for, desire eagerly'; cf. OE. *clǣg* 'clay'; from a *gh*-extension of IE. *gleį-* 'stick' seen in OIr. *gle-ni-m* 'adhaereo,' Gr. γλία 'glue,' γλίνη 'gluten, gum.'

b. Skr. *snihati* 'be greasy, moist; stick to,' whence 'have affection for, be fond of,' *snēha-* 'stickiness, oil, grease,' whence 'attachment, love, friendship'; with the fully developed emotional sense, *snēha-* occurs in the compounds *snēha-guru-* 'heavy with love, love-sick,' *snēha-bhūmi-* 'object of love,' and in the secundary adj. *snēhala-* 'affectionate, tender.' These words are practically confined to Class. Sanskrit. The rare Vedic *snih-* means 'grow moist, melt away,' lacking altogether the sense of 'stick,' and the later 'be attached to, love.'

The related Av. *snaežaiti* 'to snow,' Gr. νείφει, Lat. *ninguit*, etc., show a different development. The original meaning of the root was perhaps 'moist,' whence both 'sticky' and 'shining.'

IV. Excitement and Inhibition of Movements

Excitement is one of the most striking concomitants of certain emotions. One may be excited by anger, envy, greed, passion, longing, or by apprehension, fear, or by distress, anguish, grief. It is only natural then that words for 'move back and forth, waver, shrink,' and for 'shake, tremble,' describing the physiological expression of these emotions, should come to denote one or several of the emotions that are characterized by excitement.

Similarly a sudden inhibition of all movements, a rigid appearance characterize other emotions, as for instance amazement, embarrassment, horror, and a certain kind of hatred and of fear; for that reason words for 'stand still, be stiff' come to denote these emotions.

1. Words for 'move back and forth, waver, shrink' turn into expressions for 'excitement, irritation, resentment, anger, envy, passion, greed, grief.'

a. Skr. *krudhyati* 'be angry with,' *kruddha-* 'angered,' *krōdha-* 'anger, wrath,' *krudhima-* 'wrathful, irritable.' Probably connected with Lith. *krutėti* 'shake, vibrate,' *krūtiti* 'touch, set vibrating,' on the basis of an IE. *qrų-* with different determinatives; cf. Falk-Torp 905.

b. Skr. *kupyati* 'be moved or agitated, shake,' whence 'be angry, wroth,' *kōpa-* 'irritation, anger, wrath; compassion'; Lat. *cupio*

'desire, long for; wish well,' *con-cupisco* 'covet, lust for.' Skr. *kupyati* preserves the earlier meaning 'shake, move back and forth,' as does also the adj. *kupaya-* 'moving, restless, flickering.' Closely related meanings are found in OSl. *kypěti* 'undulate, boil, flow over.'

c. Gr. *θῡμός* 'desire, passion, temper; courage, anger,' *θῡμοῦμαι* 'be wroth, angry,' *θῡμικός* 'passionate, courageous'; with a preposition denoting direction, *ἐπι-θῡμέω* 'long for, lust for, covet,' *ἐπι-θῡμία* 'desire, yearning, lust'; OIr. *dūil* (**dhū-li-*, Fick II, 153) 'desire, longing.' From IE. *dhŭ-*, Gr. *θύω* 'rush on,' Skr. *dhūnōti* 'move hither and thither, shake' (Boisacq 356). Gr. *θῡμός* denotes expecially violent passion, and the strong emotions of anger and courage, in which quick movements and restlessness are very prominent. The extension of *θῡμός* to the less violent emotions of joy, grief, etc., as well as to the comprehensive 'heart,' and finally to 'soul' is of later development.

d. Skr. *irasyati* 'be jealous, envious,' *īrṣyati* 'be angry, envious,' *irasyā-*, *irṣyā-* 'ill-will, anger'; Av. *arəšyant-* 'envious,' *ərəši-* 'envy'; Arm. *heř* 'anger, envy,' *eřam* 'be excited, jealous, angry,' besides 'boil, move restlessly, wimmeln,' *ēřandn* 'excitement,' besides 'boiling' (Liden, Arm. Stud. 83); OE. *eorre*, *yrre*, OS. *irri* 'angry, resentful'; Lett. *erīgs* 'irritable, morose, sulky' (Osten-Sacken, IF. 23, 380).

Lat. *erro* 'go astray,' Goth. *airzeis*, OHG. *irri* 'astray, confused,' together with Arm. *eřam* 'move restlessly' point to the earlier meaning of the words, from which arise such meanings as 'excite, arouse' and the later names for the emotions of 'irritation, anger, envy.' Falk-Torp 468 assume the reverse development from 'verwirrung des gemüts' to 'irren,' which however is quite improbable.

From the IE. root *erə-*, with different determinatives, are derived ON. *erta* 'tease,' with which compare Skr. *ardayati* 'arouse, excite'; Gr. *ἐρέθω*, *ὀροθύνω* 'irritate' (Boisacq 273). The simple root is contained in Skr. *ṛ-nō-ti* 'rise, move,' Gr. *ὄρνυμι* 'arouse, move' (Walde 547).

e. Lat. *īra* 'anger, wrath, rage, bitterness,' Av. *aēšma-* 'anger,' Gr. *οἶστρος* 'mad passion of rage, anguish, desire,' Lith. *aistra* 'violent passion.' From IE. *eiṣ-* 'move,' cf. Skr. *ēṣati* 'set into motion,' ON. *eisa* 'move ahead fast,' Gr. *οἶμα* (**οἰσ-μα*) 'violent attack' (Boisacq 693, Walde 392).

f. Lith *aiksztis* 'passion,' ON. *eikinn* 'raging, furious,' are compared by Osten-Sacken, IF. 23, 376, with Skr. *ējati* 'move, impel,' Gr. *κατ-αιγίζω* 'attack with fury.'

g. Lat. *furo* 'rage, rave, be furious; be inspired (of sooth-sayer), revel,' *furor* 'rage, violent passion, vehement desire; inspiration (of sooth-sayers),' *furio* 'enrage; inspire'; Serb. Croat. *bûriti se* 'rage.' Compare Little Russ. *bûryty* 'confuse, incite, boil (of blood)', OSl. *burja* 'storm'; Gr. φύρω 'mix, jumble, confuse,' πορφύρω 'move restlessly, swell (of the sea),' cf. Walde 329.

Berneker 103 admits the possibility of connecting the Balto-Slavic words with the Latin, but prefers connection with Lett. *baurût*, Norw. *bure* 'low, roar (of angry bull).'

h. Skr. *lubhyati* 'go astray,' and 'desire eagerly, long for; alure,' *lōbhayati* 'confuse, disturb, trouble, derange; alure,' *lōbha-* 'strong desire, greed, avarice,' *lubdha-* 'confused, gone astray'; Lat. *lubet, libet* 'it pleases,' *lubens, libens* 'gladly,' *lubīdo, libīdo* 'pleasure, longing, passion, appetite, lust'; OSl. *ljubiti* 'love,' *ljubŭ* 'dear,' *ljuby* 'love'; ON. *ljufr*, OE. *lēof*, E. *lief*, OHG. *liub*, NHG. *lieb*, Goth. *liuba-leiks* 'dear, lovely'; OHG. *liuba, liubī*, NHG. *liebe* 'love,' OHG. *liubēn* NHG. *lieben* 'love'; OE. *lufu*, E. *love*, OE. *lufian*, E. *love*, OHG. *mōt-luba* 'affectus,' Goth. *brōþra-lubō* 'brotherly love,' *lubains* 'hope.' With later semantic changes, ON. *lof*, OE. *lof*, NHG. *lob* 'praise'; ON. *lof*, OE. *lēaf*, E. *leave*, OHG. *gilouba*, NHG. *urlaub, erlaubnis* 'leave, permission'; OE. *lēafa*, E. *belief*, OHG. *giloubo*, NHG. *glaube* 'belief.'

Only the Sanskrit furnishes evidence for a pre-emotional meaning 'be confused, go astray,' from which the sense of 'excite,' and then 'excite with one emotion or another' are derived.

i. Skr. *rōṣati, ruṣyati, ruṣati* 'be vexed, cross, angry,' *ruṣ-* 'anger, wrath, rage,' *rōṣa-* 'anger, wrath, rage'; Gr. ἀλύιω, ἀλύω 'be frantic, ill at ease, be beside one's self (from grief, perplexity, exultation),' and in late prose 'wander, roam about,' ἄλυσις 'distress, anguish,' ἄλυς, -υος 'listlessness.' From IE. (ə)*leu̯-s* (Schulze, Quaest. Ep. 310; Boisacq 47).

Hom. λύσσα, Att. λύττα 'rage' (*λυκ-ια), λυσσάω, λυττάω 'be enraged'; further, the glosses λεύκαι φρένες· μαινόμεναι Hes. With a prothetic vowel, ἀλυκή 'trouble, anguish,' ἀλύσσω 'be uneasy, be in distress,' and the gloss ἀλύσσειν· τρέμειν Hes. (Lagerkranz, Gr. Lautg. 88; Boisacq 592); IE. *leu̯-k̂, or leu̯-q.*

The semantic development is uncertain. But the range of meanings and especially the Greek glosses make it probable that the earlier significance was a movement of some sort, and that the words came to denote 'excitement,' whence 'anger' and 'distress, grief.' Connection with the above group from IE. *leu̯-bh* is probable.

j. Skr. *lōla-* 'moving hither and thither, restless,' also applied to the gestures of the body in certain emotions, whence 'greedy, eager, longing for,' *lāulya-* 'restlessness,' whence 'greediness, eagerness, passion for.' The earlier meaning is well attested. The verb *lōlati* has only the sense of 'move back and forth.' Russ. *ljulŭka* 'cradle,' Serb. *ljuljati* 'rock, sing to sleep' very probably belong here, although the onomatapoetic nature of these words makes independent creation quite probable; cf. the previous groups.

k. Skr. *vyathatē* 'waver, shrink,' and 'be excited, give way to grief,' *vyatha-* 'failure, loss,' also 'feeling of unrest, pain, sorrow, grief, anguish.' Two divergent developments are evident: 'waver, shrink' becomes 'be confused, err,' whence both 'fail, lose' and 'be excited (with grief)'.

l. Goth. *un-agands*, ppl. of a primary verb, 'fearless,' Goth. *agis*, ON. *agi* 'fear' and 'unrest,' OE. *eȝe* (E. awe is from the Norse), MHG. *ege* 'fear,' OE. *eȝesa*, OHG. *egisa* 'horror, fear'; Goth. *af-*, *in-*, *us-agjan* 'scare, frighten'; Goth. *ōgjan* 'scare,' ON. *øgja-sk* 'be scared'; Goth. *ōgan* 'be afraid'; OHG. *egōn* 'be afraid'; ON. *ōtti* 'fear.' Gr. ἄχνυμαι 'be afraid; vex,' Gr. ἄχος poet. 'woe, anguish, grief, sorrow, mourning,' ἄχθος 'burden, difficulty; pain, suffering, grief, sorrow,' ἄχθομαι 'burden, vex; mid. be vexed, unwilling' (Walde 42); OIr. *āgur* 'be afraid,' *agathar* 'timet' (Falk-Torp 37). With an *l*-suffix: Goth. *aglō* 'anguish,' *us-agljan* 'trouble,' OE. *eȝlan* 'to trouble, pain,' *eȝlian* 'be troubled, feel pain,' E. *ail*, MLG. *egelen* 'cause tribulation, grief'; Goth. *aglus*, OE. *eȝele* 'difficult, troublesome'; also MHG. *ageleiȥ* 'quick, busy, zealous,' *ageleiȥe* 'speed, zeal; trouble, distress.'

There is little indication of an earlier meaning. Perhaps ON. *agi* 'unrest,' besides 'fear,' esp. if taken in connection with MHG. *ageleiȥ* 'quick, busy, zealous' may be considered to have retained an earlier significance. In that case 'fear' as well as 'trouble, pain, grief' come from 'unrest,' as expressed in the movements of the body under the influence of these emotions. The opinion of Falk-Torp 183 that these words are connected with Gr. ὄχλος 'pile, burdening, vexation,' and that the fundamental meaning was 'masse, last' is even less satisfactory (see Boisacq 735).

m. Skr. *hēḍati* 'anger,' *hēḍa-* *hēḍas-* 'anger, resentment, grudge'; Av. *zōiždišta-* 'most hated'; without the *d-* extension, Av. *zōišnu-* 'shuddering'; Goth. *us-gaisjan* 'scare, frighten,' *us-geisnan* 'be frightened, horrified,' ON. *geisa* 'rage,' *geiska-fullr* 'full of fear,

frightened,' OE. *ȝāstan* 'frighten,' E. *a-ghast* 'horror-struck,' OE. *ȝāst*, OHG. *geist* 'spirit' (Uhl. Ai. Wb. 361; Feist, Got. Wb. 295). There is no direct evidence of a pre-emotional meaning. One may assume an earlier sense 'excitement' (Feist assumes 'innere erregung') from which 'anger, hatred' and 'fear, terror' as well as 'spirit' may come; cf. Gr. *θῡμός*.

2. Words for 'tremble' come to denote 'fear.'

a. Skr. *trasati* 'tremble' and 'be afraid,' Av. *tərəsa̯iti*, OPers. *tarsatiy* 'be afraid,' Av. *frāŋhaye̯iti* 'frighten'; Lat. *terreo* 'frighten,' *terror* 'fright'; Gr. *ἄτρεστος* 'unfrightened.' The physical sense is also seen in Gr. *τρέω* 'tremble, flee', OSl. *tręsǫ* 'shake,' *tręsǫ sę* 'tremble,' Lith. *triszù* 'tremble.'

b. Skr. *bhayatē*, *bibhēti* 'be afraid,' *bhaya-* 'fear, dread, terror; danger, distress,' *bhī-* 'fear, horror,' *bhīru-* 'timid, shy,' *bhīma-* 'fearful, terrible,' *bhīṣa-* 'intimidation, frightening,' *bhiti-* 'fear, danger'; Av. *bayente*, *byente* 'they make fear'; OSL. *bojati sę* 'be afraid,' *bojaznь* 'fear'; Lith. *bajùs* 'fearful,' *bāime* 'fear,' *bijóti-s* 'be afraid.' OHG. *bibēn*, *bibinōn*, ON. *bifa* 'shake, tremble' as against all the foregoing words of the various languages have preserved the earlier meaning. As an expression denoting the gesture of the emotion of fear they have become names for the emotion itself outside the Germanic.

Wackernagel, KZ. 41, 305 (followed by Brugmann, Gdr. III, 1, 107, and by Berneker, Wb. 68) rejects the connection with the Germanic words; but neither his semantic nor his morphological objections are conclusive. It is true that Skr. *bhayetē*, *bibhēti* shows no trace of the meaning of OHG. *bibēn*; but from the IE. period to the Vedic period there is ample time for the development generally assumed, while it is equally natural that the Germanic words should have retained the physical sense of 'shake.' The morphological objections are more serious; still, the reduplicated type *bibhēti* occurs in the RV. and can be equated with OHG. *bibēn*; this is good evidence for an IE. reduplicated present, if one is willing to grant the semantic development, as I do. But even if the type Skr. *bibhēti*, OHG. *bibēn* should have arisen independently in Sanscrit and in Germanic (Falk-Torp 125 point out that Germanic shows a preference for reduplicated forms with the meaning 'shake, quake, tremble,' quoting Goth. *reiran*, ON. *titra* = NHG. *zittern*), the root connection can not be denied.

3. Words for 'stand still, be stiff' furnish expressions for 'amazement, embarrassment, horror, hate, fear.'

a. Gr. *στυγέω* 'abhor, abominate, hate; fear,' *στύγος* n. 'hatred, sullenness, gloom,' *στυγερός* 'hated, loathed; hateful, loathsome,' *στυγνός* 'hated, abhorred; gloomy, sullen'; Russ. *i-stýga* 'sorrow, grief.' IE. *stŭ-g-*, as also in Russ. *i-styga* adv. 'rigidly, tight,' *i-stygnutĭ* 'freeze'; Gr. *στύξ* 'a piercing chill.'

OSl. *studŭ* 'frigidus,' whence 'pudor,' *studĭnŭ* 'frigidus,' whence '*αἰσχρός*', *stydŭkŭ* '*αἰσχύνης*', *styděti sę* '*αἰσχύνεσθαι*'; from a *d*-extension of IE. *steu̯-*, *stŭ-*.

Lat. *stupeo* 'stand still; be embarrassed, stupified; stutzen,' *stupendus* 'astonishing'; from a *p*- extension of IE. *stŭ-*, cf. Gr. *στύπος* 'stick, shaft, stem,' E. *stub*.

NHG. *staunen* 'be surprised, astonished, amazed' (does not appear in the written language until 1777), E. *stun* are descendents of Germanic *na*-presents from the simple root IE. *stŭ-*.

The original meaning of IE. *stŭ-*, attested also for the various extended roots, is 'be stiff, rigid,' cf. Gr. *στύω* 'make stiff, erect.' A rigid position being the striking expression of horror, surprise, and a certain kind of hatred, fear, and sorrow, these words were used in describing the characteristic gestures of these emotions, and became in the end adequate terms for them.

V. More Specific Gestures

Among these gestures I include 'gaping' as an expression of 'desire, craving'; 'writhing' as an expression of 'anger'; 'blushing' as an expression of 'passion, love'; 'covering, hiding' as an expression of 'shame'; 'bristling of the hair' in excessive 'fear' or 'joy.' The development of the words denoting these gestures is parallel to those discussed in the previous sections; it differs only in that the possible developments are more limited in number, which is in accord with the more specific nature of these gestures.

1. Words for 'gape, yawn' furnish expressions for 'desire, crave.'

a. OE. *ȝiwian* 'desire,' ON. *gjā*, *gjō* 'voluptuous life'; cf. OHG. *giwēn* 'open the mouth wide,' OSl. *zĕvati* 'yawn'; IE. *ĝheį̆-u̯o-*.

Norw. *gīr* 'strong desire,' OHG. *gīr* 'strong desire, greed,' *gīrig* 'desirous'; compare OHG. *gīr* = NHG. *geier* 'buzzard'; IE. *ĝheį̆-ro-*.

OE. *ȝīfre* 'desirous, craving for'; compare E. *gibe*, ON. *geifla* 'murmur'; IE. *ĝheį̆-bh-*.

The older meaning of these words is 'gape, yawn' (cf. also OHG. *gīen*, Lat. *hiāre* 'yawn'); they must have denoted the gesture of opening the mouth as an expression of intense interest, desire, before becoming words of emotions in the full sense. See Falk-Torp 316 for numerous other related words in Germanic.

2. Words for 'writhe' come to mean 'irritation, anger.'

a. ON. *reiðr*, OE. *wrāþ* 'angry, wroth, hostile,' OS. *wrēd* 'sorrowful angry, hostile'; ON. *reiði*, OE. *wrāþþo* 'anger, hostility'; also Lat. *ir-rītāre* (**in-vrīt-āre*); see Wood, Mod. Phil. 4, 495. With these compare OHG. *reid*, *reidi* 'kraus,' ON. *riða*, OE. *wriþan* 'wring, twist,' Lith. *rẽsti* 'wind, roll.' The various emotions, esp. 'anger, wrath, irritation' are thus named after the 'writhing' of the body (cf. the German *sich vor zorn, ärger winden*), rather than after the wrinkling of the forehead, as suggested by Falk-Torp 1396.

b. Goth. *þwairhs* 'angry,' OE. *þweorh* 'angry, cross,' besides the concrete 'contrary'; cf. ON. *þverr*, OHG. *dwerh* 'contrary, opposed.' The emotional meaning may arise from 'opposed = turned against,' or else from 'writhing'; IE. *tu̯erq-* 'turn,' besides *terq-* in Lat. *torqueo* 'turn, twist.'

3. Words for 'blush' develop into expressions for 'passion, love, delight.'

a. Skr. *rajyati* 'be colored or red,' whence 'be excited, delighted; love,' *rakta-* 'colored red,' whence 'excited, agitated, impassioned, in love, delighted,' *rāga-* 'coloring, redness,' whence 'affection, passion, love, delight.' The obvious development is from 'red' to 'flushed (with excitement, passion),' and then to 'excitement, passion, love, delight.' The physical sense is seen also in Gr. ῥέζω 'color,' Hom. ῥῆγος 'red cloth,' from IE. (*s*)*reg-* (Meillet, MSL. 13, 38).

b. Skr. *vrīḍa-*, *vrīḍā-* 'shame,' *vrīḍate* 'become embarrassed,' probably have a dialectic lingual *ḍ*, and so may be connected with Welsh *gwrido* 'blush' (Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 300).

4. Words for 'bristling (of the hair)' come to denote 'fear' and 'rejoicing.'

a. Skr. *hṛṣyati* 'be excited (with pleasure or fear), be delighted, amazed,' besides 'bristle, stand on ends (of hair and feathers),' *harṣa-* 'ardent desire, lust; joy,' and 'bristling,' *hṛṣṭa-* 'glad, merry,' besides 'erect, stiff,' *hṛṣṭi-* 'joy, rapture'; Av. *zaršayamna-* 'die federn austräubend'; Lat. *horreo* 'shudder, quake with horror, fear, amazement, awe,' and 'bristle, be rough,' *horror* 'shuddering' and

'bristling,' *horridus* 'fearful, horrible,' and 'bristly, rough, shaggy; harsh, rude (in manners),' *horridulus* 'bristly, shaggy, rough.' (For further related words with the earlier meaning 'bristle' see Walde 366). The semantic development, which very probably took place independently in Sanskrit and in Latin, is quite clear.

5. Words for 'cover, hide' and for 'turn away from' furnish expressions for 'shame.'

a. ON. *skǫmm*, OE. *scamu*, OHG. *scama* 'feeling of shame'; Goth. *skaman sik*, OE. *scamian sic*, OHG. *sich scamēn* 'be ashamed'; OHG. *scanta* (**skam-iđō*) 'shame, disgrace.' Originally 'cover (so as to hide from view),' if from IE. *(s)ḱem-*, and related to ON. *hamr* 'outer cover,' OE. *hama* 'cover, clothes,' OHG. *hemidi* 'clothes.'

Falk-Torp 376 prefer connection with ON. *skammr*, OHG. *scam* 'short,' OPers. *kamna* 'little, slight,' supporting their view by quoting phrases like Dan. *slaa en til skamme* = NHG. *zu Schanden hauen*. The earlier meaning would then be 'feel small.'

b. Gr. ἐντρέπω 'turn about,' in the N. T. sometimes 'feel ashamed'; so regularly in Mod. Gr. ἐντρέπομαι 'be ashamed' (Prof. Buck).

VI. Vocal Expression of Emotions

Emotions are often accompanied by activities of the vocal organs. The sounds produced may be inarticulate, as the interjections, and often also wailing, grumbling, and the cries of joy; or else they may consist of articulate speech, as praising, lamenting, mumbling. Words denoting such vocal gestures may then come to stand for the emotions of which they are merely the physiological expression.

1. Words meaning 'make noise' furnish expressions for 'rejoice.'

a. OE. *drēam*, OS. *drōm* 'rejoicing, joy, mirth, singing,' OE. *drȳman*, OS. *drōmian* 'rejoice,' are frequently used for 'exuberant rejoicing' as that of warriors at a drinking bout, especially in celebration of a victory over the enemy, cf. Beo. 88, 99, 497, Hēliand 2009, 2954. For that reason connection with Gr. θρύειν 'be noisy,' θρῦλος 'noise,' θρόος 'noisy talk' is practically certain (Falk-Torp 161).

The identical ON. *draumr*, OHG. *troum*, E. *dream* with the strongly divergent meaning 'dream' is explained by Falk-Torp as coming from an earlier 'verwirrter lärm, sinnesverwirrung, gaukelei.'

b. Goth. *swēgnjan*, *swignjan* 'triumph, rejoice,' *swēgniþa*, *swigniþa* 'joy,' clearly are connected with Goth. *swiglōn* 'play the pipe or

the flute,' *ga-swōgjan* 'sigh,' OE. *swēȝ* 'sound,' *swōȝian, swēȝian* 'roar, sound.'

c. Skr. *nandati* 'rejoice, be satisfied,' *nandayati* 'gladden,' *nanda-* 'joy, happiness,' *nandana-* 'gladdening,' n. 'gladdening, joy, bliss' are very probably related to Skr. *nadati* 'resound, roar, hum,' Av. *nadant-* 'insulting.' Whitney, Roots 87-88, recognizes the connection; Uhl. Ai. Wb. 142 is more reticent.

d. MHG. *gelf* 'mirth, wantonness; mockery,' besides 'noise, roaring, barking'; cf. OE. *ȝelpan* 'boast,' E. *yelp*, ON. *gjalpa*, OHG. *gelpfan* 'talk boisterously.'

2. Words for 'lament, wail' come to mean 'mourn, grieve, be sad.'

a. OHG. OS. *kara* 'mourning, lamentation,' OHG. *karag*, OE. *cariȝ* 'anxious, sad,' OHG. *karagī* 'penitence,' *karōt* 'lamentation'; Goth. *karōn*, OHG. *charōn* 'mourn, lament,' OE. *cearian* 'care, be anxious, sorry.' The meanings 'sad, mourn' are evidently derived from 'lament,' i.e. the vocal expression of these emotions; compare OHG. *kerran* 'creak; cry out,' ON. *kurra* 'speak aloud, express disapproval,' Lat. *garrio* 'prattle' (Walde 344; Zupitza, Gutt. 78).

b. ON. *kvīða, kvīði,* 'sorrow, fear,' *kvīða* 'be sorry'; Gr. *ὠ-δίς* 'torture, geburtsschmerzen,' *ὠ-δῖνω* 'have pangs, geburtsschmerzen' (Wood, KZ. 45, 65; Falk-Torp 606). Originally 'lament,' as may be seen from OE. *cwīþan* 'lament, bemourn,' OE. *cwānian* 'lament'; IE. *gᵘ̯eį̯-*, compare Skr. *gāyatē* 'sing' (Falk-Torp 606).

c. Skr. *rud-* 'a cry, wail,' whence 'pain, affliction; grief' and 'disease' (Apte, Skr.-Eng. Dict. 914), *rōdayati* 'make sad' (Grassmann 1194). These words are but rarely used of emotions; their usual meaning is 'wail, lament'; cf. Skr. *rudati* 'wail, lament, roar, howl.'

d. Skr. *kṛpā-* 'compassion, pity,' *kṛpaṇá-* 'pitiable, miserable, poor,' *kṛpáṇa-* 'misery, pity,' *kṛpayati* 'pity, grieve,' besides 'lament'; cf. Lat. *crepo* 'crackle, rattle, creak, clatter' (Uhl. Ai. Wb. 64).

3. Words for 'praise' come to denote the emotions of 'gratitude, esteem, friendship, love.'

a. Lat. *grātēs* pl. 'thanks,' *grātia* 'favor, esteem; love, friendship'; *grātus* 'beloved, dear, pleasing'; cf. Skr. *gūrti* 'praise,' *gṛṇāti* 'sing, praise,' Av. *gar-* 'praise,' Lith. *giĩrti* 'praise.' The emotion of gratitude is thus named from its expression in words, i.e. 'praise' (Walde 352). Connection with *horior* is however not impossible (Wood, Class. Phil. 3, 80).

4. Words for 'grumble, grind the teeth' come to mean 'anger, wrath' and 'sorrow, grief.'

a. ON. *gramr* 'wroth,' esp. of the Gods in the heathen oath *sē mēr god holl ef ek satt segi, grǫm ef ek lȳg*; OE. *ȝrǫm*, OHG. *gram* 'wroth, angry, furious; grieved,' NHG. *gram* 'sorrow, grief.' ON. *grimmr*, OE. *ȝrim*, OHG. *grimmi, grim* 'grim, unfriendly, angry, cruel; sore'; Goth. *gramjan*, OE. *ȝremmen*, ON. *gremja*, OHG. *gremmen* 'provoke, make angry,' NHG. *sich grämen* 'grieve'; ON. *grimma-sk*, OE. *ȝrimman*, MHG. *grimmen* 'to rage in fury or in anguish'; OE. *ȝremettan*, OHG. *gramizzōn* 'rage, roar, grunt.' Cf. OHG. *ga-grim* 'a gnashing or grinding one's teeth,' LGer. *grummelen* = E. grumble; Gr. χρεμέθω 'grind the teeth,' OSl. *gromŭ* 'thunder,' Lith. *gruménti* 'thunder from afar.'

5. Derivatives of interjections furnish expressions for various emotions.

a. ON. *vē*, OE. *wā(wa)*, *wēa*, E. *woe*, OS. *wē*, *wēwes*, OHG. *wēwo*, *wēwa* 'wretchedness, grief, woe'; Goth. *wainags*, OHG. *wēnag* (**wēwa-na-g*, or directly from the unreduplicated interjection *wē*) 'wretched, unhappy'; OHG. *wē(we)-tac* 'suffering.' Derivatives of the interjection Goth. *wai*, ON. *vei*, OE. *wā*, OHG. *wē*, identical with Lat. *vae*, OIr. *fē*, Lett. *wai*. Other derivatives are ON. *vāla* (**waiwalōn*), E. *wail*; ON. *veina*, OHG. *weinōn*, OE. *wānian*, 'wail, cry.'

b. Gr. οἰζύς 'suffering, woe, wretchedness,' οἰζυρός 'wretched, lamentable, sad,' οἰζύω 'suffer,' besides 'wail, lament,' are derivatives from the interjection οἴ, οἴ-μοι (Bezzenberger, BB. 26, 168).

c. OHG. *(j)āmar*, OS. *iāmar* 'sorry,' OE. *ȝēomor* 'sad, sorry,' OHG. *(j)āmar* 'sorrow, grief, herzeleid,' OHG. *(j)āmarōn* 'grieve; long for'; MHG. *jamer-smerze, -sorge* and many other compounds in which *jamer-* expresses the inwardness and the intensity of the emotions.

Compare ON. *amra*, NHG. *jammern* 'lament.' These words are probably built upon an interjection of suffering, sorrow.

C. Words Denoting Sense Perceptions

The relation of the feelings and the emotions to thought has been discussed in the general introduction (pp. 2–8). Feelings are part and parcel of all thought processes from simple perceptions to the most complicated processes of the imagination and of inferential thinking.

Perceptions differ very much in their feeling value. In general, the kinesthetic, the visceral, and the tactual perceptions have a

relatively stronger affective tone than those of hearing and especially those of sight, the taste-smell perceptions taking a middle ground. This situation is reflected in the greater number of names of emotions coming from words for kinesthetic, visceral, and tactual perceptions. The exceptional situation in the case of words for hearing is accounted for on page 41.

The sense feelings play an all-important part in the transfer of words denoting sense perceptions to emotions. For what other way is there of explaining the shift of the meaning of a word from 'bright' to 'cheerful,' or from 'sweet' to 'pleasant,' or from 'press, squeeze' to 'cause pain, suffering, grief,' than by the similarity of the feeling which constitutes part of the perceptions 'bright, sweet, press,' on the one hand, and the emotions of 'delight, pleasure, pain, grief' on the other? This view is borne out by the linguistic fact that only names of perceptions with a pronounced feeling tone come to be applied to emotions.[1]

A second factor may be of some importance in certain cases: the not unusual occurrence of a perception passing over into an emotional state, as when pressure upon any part of the body is gradually increased to a degree where the touch and muscle sensations become submerged by the feeling of pain, or when the esthetic enjoyment of an object of art passes over into an emotion. But even in such cases a word denoting the perceptual experience would not be extended to the emotion growing out of it if they did not have a common affective quality (Wundt, Völkerpsychologie[3] II, 2, 572ff.).

I. Visual Perceptions

The feeling value (affective tone) of colors is well known. In general, bright colors are 'cheerful,' dark colors are 'gloomy.' This common experience leads to very striking expressions. One may look at the 'bright' or the 'dark' side of things, or take a 'rosy' view of a situation, and so forth. The same fact accounts for the conventional symbolic value of black, red, yellow, green, blue, and white.

[1] The shift of the meaning of a word from the realm of one sense to that of another can also be explained only on this ground. The semantic change of MHG. *hell* 'clear (sound)' to NHG. *hell* 'clear (light)', and the transfer of E. *sharp* from tactual to auditory and gustatory impressions is certainly due to a similar feeling going with these experiences, since the sensational elements are so utterly disparate.

Recent experiments on the affective tone of colors have done little more than confirm and elaborate these well-known facts.

With this background of psychological facts semantic changes from 'bright' to 'cheerful,' and from 'dark' to 'gloomy,' perceptions and emotions respectively, are readily intelligible. The similar emotional component of the otherwise entirely disparate experiences motivate the change.

I have not succeeded in finding the full emotional sense developed in any specific color name.

1. Words for 'bright' or 'shine' come to denote the emotions of 'delight, pleasure,' whence also 'desire, longing.'

a. Skr. *rōcatē* 'please, delight in, long for,' besides the earlier 'shine, be fair,' *ruc-* 'delight, longing,' besides 'light, brightness, splendor, beauty,' *ruci-* 'pleasure, taste for, desire, wish,' besides 'light, etc.' The earlier meaning 'light' is confined to Vedic literature (Grassmann 1170). Compare Skr. *rōka-*, Av. *raōca-* 'light,' Lat. *lūceo* 'shine,' Gr. λευκός 'bright, shining.'

b. NHG. *heiter* 'serene, cheerful,' besides 'clear,' *heiterkeit* 'serenity, good cheer.' The corresponding OHG. *heitar*, OE. *hādor*, ON. *heiðr* (without the *ro*-suffix), only have the meaning 'clear, bright (especially of the sky)'; cf. also ON. *heið* 'clear sky' (Falk-Torp 446). These Germanic words are further connected with Skr. *kētu-* 'light, brightness.'

c. Skr. *bhadra-* 'pleasing, happy, blissful,' besides the earlier 'bright,' subst. 'happiness, welfare, bliss'; Av. *hu-baδra* 'happy, blessed.' These words are derived from the reduced IE. *bhn̥d-*, the full grade of which is found in Skr. *bhandatē* 'shine, glisten.' Ultimate connection with Gr. φαίνομαι 'appear,' φανερός 'bright, clear' is quite probable (Uhl. 195).

d. ON. *glȳ*, OE. *ȝlēo*, *ȝlīw* 'joy, glee,' from IE. *ĝhleį-u̯o-*; cf. ON. *gliā* 'shine,' OE. *ȝlæm* 'gleam.' IE. *ĝhleį-* is probably an extension of *ĝhel-* 'bright' which appears in OHG. *gelo*, etc. 'yellow, golden, green.'

Lat. *laetus* 'joyful, cheerful, glad, happy,' also 'fertile, rich, abundant,' *laetor* 'rejoice, feel joy,' *laetitia* 'gladness, joy, mirth,' besides 'fertility'; perhaps from IE. *ĝhleį-to-*, cf. Lith. *glitùs* 'smooth,' and, with a *d*-suffix, OHG. *glīzzan* 'shine.' Connection with this base doubted by Sommer, Hb. Krit. Erläut. 52.

e. ON. *glaðr*, 'shining, bright,' OE. *ʒlād*, OS *glad* 'glad,' OS. *glad-mōd*, OE. *ʒlād-mōd*, OHG. *clata-muati* 'glad, merry, friendly.' ON. *glaðr* preserves the original meaning 'bright,' while OHG. *glat* (except in the compound quoted), OFris. *gled*, and also the related OSl. *gladŭkŭ*, Lat. *glaber*, Lith. *glōdùs* have shifted to 'smooth'; all from a secondary base IE. *ghlā-* with a *dh*-extension; cf. base *ĝhleiʒ-* above with similar meaning.

Falk-Torp's suggestion, p. 324, that the emotional sense comes from 'bright' as applied to the 'bright, sparkling' eye is not likely in the face of so many parallel cases where the general term 'bright' takes on the emotional meaning.

f. ON. *teitr* 'glad,' OHG. *zeiz*, OE. *tāt* 'tender, pleasant'; compare Skr. *dīdi-* 'shining,' *dīdēti* 'shine,' Isl. *tēr* 'clear,' OHG. *ziarī* 'splendor, beauty' (Falk-Torp 970).

g. Goth. *bleiþs*, ON. *blīðr* 'merciful, kind,' OE. *blīðe*, OS. *blīði*, OHG. *blīde* 'merciful, kind; glad, happy'; Goth. *bleiþjan* 'be merciful,' OHG. *blīden* 'be glad'; OS. *blīðōn*, OHG. *blīdēn* 'be glad'; Goth. *bleiþei*, OS. *blīðsea*, OE. *blīþs*, *bliss* 'mercy, kindness; joy, happiness'; from a *t*-extension of IE. *bhleiʒ-* 'shine,' secondary base from *bhel-* (Lith. *báltas* 'white'). The original meaning is preserved in OS. *blīði* 'clear, bright'; cf. forms with an IE. *d*-suffix, OE. *blāt* 'pale, lead colored,' OHG. *bleiʒʒa* 'pallor,' OSl. *blědŭ* 'pale, bleak.'

2. Words for 'dark' furnish expressions for 'gloomy.'

a. OE. *ʒlōm*, E. *gloom* 'twilight, darkness' and 'dejection'; cf. OE. *ʒlōwan*, E. *glow*, OHG. *gluoen* 'glow, burn with a weak flame,' and Lith. *žlėjà* 'twilight' (Falk-Torp 324).

II. Auditory Perceptions

Although sounds have a decided emotional value (contrast the mellow tone of an organ pipe with the sound of a shrill steam whistle), I fail to discover a single unquestionable case of an emotional term which previously denoted an auditory impression, for the Goth. *hlas* may have denoted the visual 'bright' like the related Lat. *clārus* before attaining to the emotional sense 'cheerful.'

The reason for this situation is probably to be found in the fact that the names of auditory perceptions are so few in number (clear, loud, high, low), and that even these are transferred to hearing from the other senses (see Wundt, Völkerpsych.[3] II, 2, 559).

I give the only possible case that has come to my attention:

a. Goth. *hlas* '*ἵλαρός*' (twice), *hlasei* 'cheerfulness, joy' (once); from an *s*-extension of IE. *qlə-*, in ablaut with Lat. *clārus* 'loud, clear; bright; renowned.' IE. *qlā-* is a secondary base from *qal-*, cf. Lat. *calo*, OHG. *hellan* (Walde 167).

Goth. *hlas* 'joyful' may come directly from 'clear (of sound),' but it may also have passed through an intermediary stage 'bright.'

III. Perceptions of Taste

The tastes known as 'sweet, bitter, and sour' have an outspoken emotional value as everyone can determine for himself. Especially is this true of 'sweet,' the name of which has come to be applied to all kinds of sense perceptions and to other mental processes of similar emotional quality. We consider it perfectly proper to speak of 'sweet' sounds, 'sweet' faces, 'sweet' memories, and of 'sweetness,' an emotion, mood, or general disposition of the heart.

1. Words for 'sweet' come to mean 'pleasant, joyful, glad.'

a. Skr. *svadati* 'taste good, relish,' whence 'please,' *svādu-* 'of good taste, sweet,' whence 'pleasing,' *svāda-* 'taste, good taste,' *prasvādas-* 'pleasant'; Av. *hvandra.kara-* 'pleasing.' (A different development is to be observed in Skr. *svātta-* = Av. *hvāsta-* 'seasoned, cooked,' Skr. *svādana-* 'preparing a dish,' m. 'a cook.') Gr. *ἡδύς* 'sweet (to the taste),' whence after Homer 'pleasant, well disposed, glad,' Att. *ἥδομαι* 'enjoy one's self, take delight in,' Ion. poet. *ἀνδάνω* 'please, delight, satisfy,' *ἥδος*, *ἡδονή* 'enjoyment, pleasure, delight.' Lat. *svāvis* 'sweet, agreeable, pleasant,' both of taste and of feeling. OS. *swōti*, OE. *swēte*, OHG. *suozi* with the same range of meanings.

Most words in this group which have developed the emotional sense also denote the taste impression, except in Greek where all but the adjective have lost the earlier meaning completely.

b. Skr. *mādhurā-* 'sweetness, wine,' besides the later 'loveliness, charm'; cf. *madhu-* 'sweet, of good taste,' n. 'sweetness, honey, Soma,' Gr. *μέθυ* 'wine,' Lith. *medùs* 'honey,' OE. *meodo*, OHG. *metu* 'mead.'

2. Words for 'taste' furnish expressions for 'inclination, delight, love.'

a. Skr. *juṣatē* 'delight in, enjoy; prefer, choose,' *jōṣayatē* 'like, love; approve of, choose,' *juṣṭa-* 'pleasant, acceptable; endowed with,' *juṣṭi-* 'favor, love, satisfaction,' *jōṣa-* 'satisfaction, delight in';

Av. *zaoša-* 'delight in, inclination; will, intention,' Av. *zaoš-*, OPers. *dauš-* 'delight in, like, love,' Av. *zušta-* 'liked, loved,' OIr. *asa-gussim* (**gustio-*) 'wish'; Alb. *dëša* 'loved.' Gr. γεύομαι 'taste, take a bite,' whence 'test, feel,' γεῦμα 'a taste, smack,' γεῦσις 'sense of taste; food'; Lat. *gustus* 'a tasting, eating or drinking a little, a foretaste,' *gustāre* 'taste, take a slight meal,' whence 'partake of, enjoy; hear, learn'; Goth. *kiusan*, and the corresponding words in the other dialects, meaning 'choose,' *kustus* (=Lat. *gustus*) 'test.'

Greek and Latin preserve the prior sense 'taste, partake of food,' besides the developed 'partake, learn, hear' (impressions of various senses), and 'partake with a purpose of passing judgement on, i.e. probe, test, choose' (intellectual activities); furthermore, with emphasis on the feeling or emotion accompanying certain impressions of taste, 'enjoy.' The fully developed emotional meanings of Indo-Iranian must have passed through stages corresponding to those actually preserved in Greek and Latin.

b. Skr. *rasa-* 'sap, essence,' then 'taste,' whence 'relish for, inclination, desire; feeling, sentiment, affection'; cf. Skr. *rasati* 'taste,' OSl. *rosa-*, Lith. *rasà*, Lat. *rōs* 'dew.'

IV. Perceptions of Touch

The sense of touch usually functions in conjunction with the muscle sense, so that one is often at a loss whether to attribute a perception primarily to the one or to the other of the two senses. A certain degree of arbitrary classification is therefore unavoidable. I count then 'rub, scratch, bite' among the touch impressions, not forgetting that they may also involve muscular sensations.

Perceptions of touch are of course accompanied by feeling. The most characteristic feeling of touch is pain, which is aroused by stimuli too intense for the normal functioning of the nerve ends. Pain may be produced by violent rubbing, scratching, by biting and cutting. The names of these impressions, as in the realm of the other senses, are then applied to emotions of similar affective quality, that is, to 'distress, grief, sorrow,' and to 'irritation, anger.'

1. Words for 'cut, bite, be sharp' come to denote a 'sharp pain,' whence the emotions of 'distress, grief' and 'irritation, anger.'

a. Lat. *doleo* 'feel pain; hurt,' whence 'feel sorrow, grief,' *dolor* 'pain,' whence 'affliction, grief, sorrow; indignant grief, suppressed anger, grudge'; Lett. *dēlīt* 'vex, torture.' The sense of 'hurt, feel;

pain' is derived from 'cut'; cf. Lat. *dolo* 'hew, chip (with an ax),' Lett. *dalit* 'separate,' Skr. *dalati* 'split, burst,' ON. *talga* 'a cutting,' etc.

b. Gr. *δάϊος* 'terrible, fearful, hateful; wretched, unhappy,' related to *δαΐζω* 'cleave, cut asunder.'

c. OE. *smeart* 'smarting, painful,' usually applied to painful sense impressions like E. *smart*; OHG. *smerzo*, *smerza*, NHG. *schmerz* 'pain,' but also 'anguish, grief, sorrow.' Compare Lat. *mordeo* 'bite,' also as applied to feeling; *valde mē momordērunt epistulae tuae* Cic.; Skr. *mṛdnāti*, *mardati* 'rub, crush,' LG. *murten* 'crush'; from a *d*-extension of IE. *mer-*, cf. Skr. *mṛṇāti* 'crush,' Gr. *μαραίνω* 'wear out, destroy, weaken, exhaust' (Persson, Beitr. 213ff.).

The semantic development can easily be traced. A narrowing of 'crush' to 'bite = crush by biting' (cf. *mordeo*) precedes the shift to 'smarting pain, pain' in West Germanic.

d. Lat. *saevus* 'fierce, raging, raving,' *saevitia* 'fierceness, raving, raging,' *saevio* 'be fierce, raging, furious'; Gr. *αἰμωδία* 'tooth ache' (Solmsen, Beitr. 28); OIr. *sāeth* 'suffering, sickness,' *sāethar* 'suffering, labor'; Goth. *sair*, OHG. *sēr* 'pain,' ON. *sār* 'wound,' OE. *sār* 'wound, sore,' then 'pain, suffering'; OHG. *ser* 'sore, suffering, harmful,' ON. *sār* 'sore, aching,' OE. *sārig* 'sorry, sorrowful, sad; expressing grief, mournful.' With various suffixes, from IE. *saį̄-*, which also forms the basis of Lett. *sẽws*, *sīws* 'sharp, biting, cruel' (Walde 669).

Lett. *sẽws* 'sharp, biting' preserves the earlier meaning of this group, from which the semantic development proceeds independently in the different languages. Latin 'fierce, raging,' and the meanings 'sore, ache, pain' of the other languages are divergent developments from this earlier meaning. In the Germanic dialects 'sore, soreness = wound, physical pain' remain the usual significance, although a further shift to 'grief, sadness,' especially in the OE. *sārig*, E. *sorry*, takes place. Besides, the adjective comes to be used simply to emphasize the intensity of any disagreeable emotion or sense impression, cf. ON. *sār-reiðr* 'bitterly angry,' *sār-kaldr* 'bitterly cold,' or to express merely a high degree of any attribute, cf. NHG. *sehr traurig*, *sehr froh*, *sehr kalt*, *sehr schön*.

2. Words for 'rub, scratch' furnish expressions for 'pain,' whence 'grief, sorrow.'

a. Skr. *kaṣṭa-* 'bad, evil, ill; painful, grievous, sorrowful, miserable,' subst. 'evil, hardship; suffering, pain,' *kaṣi-* 'injurious, harmful,

hurtful,' *kaṣṭi-* 'test, trial,' and 'injury, trouble, pain.' There is no reason for doubting the connection with Skr. *kaṣati* 'rub, scratch; test, try, rub on a touch-stone; injure, destroy, hurt; itch,' especially since the verb also occurs with the meaning 'hurt' from which 'grief, sorrow' are easily developed. Compare further Lith. *karsziù* 'comb, curry,' MLG. *harst* 'rake'; IE. *qers-* (Falk-Torp 881).

3. Words for 'touch' come to mean 'feel.'

a. OS. *gi-fōlian*, OHG. *fuolen*, OE. *fēlan* 'feel,' both of the sense of touch, which is the earlier application of the term, and of the feelings and emotions; cf. ON. *falma* 'touch, grope,' OE. *folm*, OHG. *folma*, Lat. *palma*, Gr. παλάμη 'palm of the hand,' OSl. *palьcь* 'thumb,' Lat. *palpo* (reduplicated) 'stroke.'

Walde 556, Falk-Torp 290, deny connection with Lat. *palma*, OE. *folm* without justification. The fact that the meaning in these languages is 'flache hand' is not sufficient argument against the connection; for the 'flache hand' can surely derive its name from its function in experiences of touch. This development is not any less natural than that of Russ. *pálec* 'finger,' OSl. *palьcь* 'thumb' from 'toucher,' a shift which they assume.

V. Kinesthetic and Visceral Perceptions

Kinesthetic and visceral perceptions are of a very complex nature. They form at any given moment a unit into which the muscle feelings, the joint feelings, the vague awareness of organic processes (digestion, respiration, circulation, and so forth) enter. In addition, they often involve tactual elements. They are described in language by such indefinite terms as 'feel light, heavy, oppressed, hot, cold,' and if the stimulation in one locality or another becomes so intense as to produce pain, by such terms as 'gnaw' (bones and viscera), 'cut' (muscles and viscera), 'be crushed, broken' (muscles and viscera), or by 'shock' if the normal flow of kinesthetic and visceral feelings is suddenly interrupted or disturbed. These expressions may then turn into names of emotions.

Some of the terms which I have classified under this head may in part denote expressive movements of emotional states, as for instance 'be hot' or 'feel crushed.' As they are experiences compounded of feelings and expressive movements, they might with equal propriety have been put into the previous chapter.

1. Words for 'press, pinch, squeeze,' perceptions composed of muscle and touch sensations, come to denote 'pain,' whence 'suffering, distress, sorrow.'

a. Skr. *kliçnāti* 'vex, harass, harm, torment,' *kliṣṭa-* 'difficult; injured, painful; distressed, sad,' *pari-kliçyati* 'vex, torture; mid. suffer, be distressed,' *klēça-* 'affliction, pain, distress' (not found in Vedic Sanskrit). Compare Skr. *sam-kliçya-* gdv., *sam-kliṣṭa-* ppl. 'squeeze, crush,' besides the infinitive with the meaning 'vex, trouble'; further, Czech *sklesnúti* 'press together, put together,' Russ. dial. *klesmunĭ* 'press, pinch,' Lit. Russ. *klĕsta* 'pliers,' OSl. *sŭ-kleštati sę* 'cruciārī' (Berneker EW. 516).

b. Skr. *khidatē* 'be depressed, languish, suffer,' *khinna-* 'tired, weary; depressed, sad,' *khēda-* 'weariness; depression, distress, sorrow; irritation, anger.' The physical sense 'press' and various specialized uses of it are found in the compound verbs Skr. *ni-khidati* 'press down,' *vi-khidati* 'tear asunder'; also in Lat. *caedo* 'fell, cut off; beat, strike.'

c. Skr. *bādhatē* 'oppress, beset,' whence 'torment, hurt, injure,' *bībhatsatē* desid. 'feel aversion, loathing,' *bādha-* 'oppression,' whence 'pain, distress,' *ā-bādha-* 'attack,' whence 'trouble, pain, sorrow.' The earlier 'press' is evident in all cases and is plainly recorded in *ni-bādhatē* 'press down.' Lat. *dē-fendo* 'ward off, drive away,' *of-fendo* 'attack,' with which compare in meaning Skr. *ā-bādha-* 'attack,' belong here; Walde's objection to this connection (p. 224) on semantic grounds is altogether unfounded.

Whether this group is related to OSl. *bědǫ, bĕditi* 'press,' and Goth. *baidjan* 'compel' (Solmsen, KZ. 37, 24) on the basis of an IE. *bhe(i̯)dh-* is quite uncertain.

d. Lith. *vaĩgas* 'distress,' *vãrgiti* 'vex, harm, torture,' *vaĩgti* 'suffer, be wretched'; OSl. *vragŭ* 'hostile'; cf. Lat. *urgeo* 'press, drive, push,' Goth. *wrikan* 'persecute,' OE. *wrecan* 'press, drive, revenge,' E. *wreak*, NHG. *rächen*. The sense of 'suffering' arises from the passive sense 'persecuted,' as also in OE. *wracu* 'revenge, punishment,' and 'be in distress,' *wrecca* 'excile, stranger' and 'wretch,' E. *wretch, wretched.*

e. Skr. *pīḍā-* 'harm, wrong, pain, ache,' *pīḍana-* 'oppressing, squeezing,' whence 'torture, pang,' *pīḍayati* 'press, squeeze,' whence 'vex, harm, hurt, torture'; perhaps from IE. *(e)pi-s(e)d-* and related to Gr. πιέζω 'press' (lit. cited in Boisacq 782).

f. Skr. *īti-* 'vexation, distress' is probably related to *inōti* 'attack, press on, overcome, rule' (Uhl. Ai. Wb. 26).

2. Expressions for 'gnaw, bite, sting,' perceptions made up of muscle, joint, and visceral sensations, turn into words for 'pain,' whence 'grief.'

a. E. *fret* 'gnaw, wear away,' and 'worry'; cf. Goth. *fra-itan*, NHG. *fressen*, and the simple verb Goth. *itan*, OE. *etan*, E. *eat*.

b. OHG. *quelan* 'suffer,' OE. *cwelan* 'die' (elliptic for 'suffer death'?); ON. *kvǫl*, OHG. *quāla* 'suffering, torment,' OE. *cwalu* 'torment,' besides the usual 'violent death, slaughter, killing, destruction'; ON. *kvelja*, OHG. *quellen* 'torment,' OE. *cwellan*, OHG. *arquellan* 'kill,' E. *quell* 'suppress, suffocate'; OS. OHG. *qualm* 'torment; death,' OE. *cwealm* 'torment; plague, pestilence; death, destruction,' E. *qualm* 'misgiving, depression.' The same double meaning 'suffering' and 'death' occurs in the related words from the Balto-Slavic: Lith. *gėlà* 'violent pain,' *gėlti* 'sting, hurt'; OPruss. *gallan*, *golis* 'death.' The original meaning of these words seems to be that of Lith. *gėlti* 'sting' (Wood, AJP. 19, 46).

3. Words for 'strangle, throttle,' kinesthesias resulting from inhibition or retardation of breathing, turn into names of the emotions of 'distress, grief,' 'anxiety, fear,' and 'irritation, anger.'

a. Skr. *ṃhati-*, *ṃhas-*, *ṃhu-* 'distress,' *ṃhura-* 'distressed'; Av. *ṃzo* 'distress'; Lat. *angor* 'strangling, pain in the throat,' besides 'trouble, vexation, anguish,' *ango* 'press together, throttle,' whence 'trouble, vex,' *angustus* 'narrow, pinching, difficult, critical,' Fr. *angoisse*, E. *anguish*; ON. *angr* 'vexation, grief,' ME. *anger* 'anger; affliction, vexation' (from the Norse), OHG. *angust* 'anxiety, fear.' The earlier meaning is seen in Gr. ἄγχω, Lat. *ango*, *angustus*, Goth. *aggwus*, ON. *ǫngr*, *øngr*, OHG. *engi* 'narrow,' which are applied also to the feeling which results from retardation or momentary inhibition of breathing in such emotional experiences as 'pain, distress, grief,' and 'irritation, anger.'

4. Expressions for 'heavy,' denoting a complex perception of muscle and visceral feelings, turn into words for 'distress, grief.'

a. OHG. *swār* 'heavy, burdensome,' whence 'painful,' *swāri* 'heaviness, difficulty,' whence 'pain, suffering, sorrow,' *swāren* 'make heavy, burden,' whence 'cause pain, sorrow'; *sweran* 'ulcerate, pain'; with a divergent development, Goth. *swērs* 'heavy; grave, honored, dear'; cf. also Lith. *svarùs* 'heavy,' *svėrti* 'weigh.'

b. Lat. *gravis* 'heavy,' also 'sick, troubled, afflicted,' *gravo* 'weigh down, oppress,' also 'become angry, vexed, irritated'; OFr. *grief, gref* 'heavy, burdensome' and 'sad,' E. *grief, grieve,* borrowed from the French.

c. Gr. *βαρύνω* 'weigh down, oppress, depress,' whence 'be oppressed, distressed'; *βαρύς* 'heavy' and 'stern, severe.' Note the same double development in Gc. *swēri-* above.

d. ON. *dapr* 'sad,' OHG. *tapfar* 'heavy, weighty,' MHG. *tapfer* 'firm, stout, heavy, important,' NHG. *tapfer* 'sturdy, brave'; cf. OSl. *doblŭ* 'strong, sturdy' (Wood, AJP. 19, 42).

e. Gr. *ἄνιος* (rare), *ἀνιαρός* 'troublesome, annoying; distressed, grieved,' *ἀνιάω, ἀνιάζω* 'to grieve, distress; mid. feel grief,' *ἀνίᾱ* 'trouble, distress, sorrow, grief'; cf. Lat. *onus* 'load, burden, charge, difficulty, trouble,' and Skr. *anas-* 'a cart' (Walde 540). In Greek the emotional sense, which is in its initial stages in Latin, is complete.

5. Expressions for 'bear, carry,' denoting a complex muscular perception similar to that called 'feel heavy,' but involving stronger innervation of the muscles, become words for 'endure,' whence both 'suffer' and 'dare.'

a. Skr. *sahatē* 'bear, endure, master, overpower, win,' also 'be patient, suffer'; cf. Skr. *sahas-* = Av. *hazah-* 'force, power, violence'; Gr. *ἔχω* 'have, hold, possess,' etc. The development is from 'hold, endure' to 'master' on the one hand, and to 'be patient, suffer' on the other.

b. ON. *þol* n., MHG. *dol, dole* f. 'suffering,' MHG. *dolig* 'patient'; Goth. *þulan,* ON. *þola,* OE. *þolian,* OS. *tholōn,* OHG. *dolēn, dolōn* 'endure, suffer'; OE. *ȝe-þyld,* OHG. *dult,* NHG. *ge-dul͡d* 'patience, suffering,' with the denominative OE. *ȝe-þyldian,* OHG. *dultēn,* NHG. *dulden* 'be patient, suffer'; Goth. *þulains* 'patience, sufferance'; Gr. aor. *τλῆναι* 'bear,' whence 'be patient, suffer,' and 'take upon one's self, dare,' *τάλᾱς* 'suffering, wretched,' *τλήμων* 'patient, steadfast, daring,' *τόλμα* 'daring,' *τολμηρός* 'patient; bold,' *τολμάω* 'bear,' whence 'suffer' and 'dare'; OIr. *tol* 'will'; cf. also Lat. *tulī* 'have borne,' *tollo* 'raise,' Skr. *tulayati* 'raise.'

6. Words for 'crush, break,' denoting a complex perception, yield names for the emotions of 'pain, grief, regret.'

a. ON. *hruggr* 'afflicted, grieved,' OE. *hrēo(w),* OS. *hriwi* 'grieved; repentant'; OE. *hrēow,* OHG. *hriuwa* 'grief, mourning; regret'; ON. *hryggja,* OHG. *hriuwan,* OE. *hrēowan* 'to grieve, afflict'; OE.

hrēowian, OHG. *hriuwēn* 'rue, repent'; ON. *hrygð* 'affliction, sorrow,' ME. *hreouđe*, E. *ruth* 'grief, sorrow; pity'; IE. *qreu̯-u̯i-*. Compare ON. *hrumr* 'infirm, staggering,' *hruma* 'to enfeeble, make infirm,' with *mo*-suffix. Further connections: OSl. *krušiti* 'break,' Lith. *kr(i)ùszti* 'crush,' Gr. κρούω 'strike, knock, smite,' from an *s*-extension of the root underlying the Germanic words.

The meaning 'grief' is derived from 'feel crushed, broken.' The sense of 'regret, repent' which eventually replaces the earlier 'grieve' altogether comes into West Germanic, but not into Norse, through the influence of the church; OE. *hrēow*, OHG. *hriuwa* render the Latin *contritio*. Falk-Torp 917 suggest possible connection with OE. *hrēoh*, E. *rough*; the emotional sense would develop then from 'rough' skin, i.e. gooseflesh, an intermediary step in the shift being presented by Norw. dial. *ryggja* 'shudder'; but this shift is not supported by any parallel.

b. Skr. *riṣyati*, *rēṣati* 'harm, injure; mid. be hurt, suffer wrong; perish,' *riṣ-* 'injury; injurer,' *riṣṭa-* 'torn, rent, broken,' and 'hurt'; Av. *raēšvāṭ* subj. 'hurt,' *raēša-* 'injury,' also 'crevice, crack'; compare OSl. *rěšiti* 'λύειν.'

Barth. Wb. 1487 compares Av. *raēša-* 'crevice, crack' with ON. *slīta* 'tear,' assuming IE. *(s)loi̯-so-* for the Avestan. Since 'tear, rend, break' are so well attested for Skr. *riṣṭa-*, one can hardly doubt that Av. *raēša-* 'crevice' is identical with *raēša-* 'injury' (Jackson, AJP. 11, 88).

c. Skr. *rujati* 'break, crush, destroy,' whence 'pain, afflict,' *ruj-* as final member of compounds, 'breaking, crushing,' as f. 'pain, illness; grief, sorrow,' *rōga-* 'frailty, sickness'; Gr. λυγρός 'sore, baneful; mournful,' and 'sorry, weak, cowardly,' λευγ-αλέος 'wretched, pitiful (of persons),' and 'sore, baneful, mournful (of conditions)'; Lat. *lūgeo* 'grieve, be afflicted,' also 'mourn, lament,' *luctus* 'sorrow, trouble,' and 'mourning.' Compare Lith. *lūžti* intr. 'break,' *szirdìs lûszta* 'to break the heart'; all from a *ĝ*-extension of IE. *leu̯-*; cf. the following group (Walde 445; Boisacq 571).

The meanings 'pain, grief' may come directly from 'be crushed' as descriptive of the feeling of a physiological state, as in Baltic, or through an intermediary 'frail, feeble,' which are represented both in Sanskrit and in Greek (cf. also the frequent shift from 'weak, tired' to 'sad'). However, the fact that 'grief' seems to have developed directly out of 'broken' in the group below gives weight to the first possibility mentioned.

d. Gr. λύπη 'pain; grief,' λῡπέω 'give pain to, distress, vex, grieve,' λῡπηρός 'painful, distressing; causing pain, sorrow,' λῡπρός 'painful, distressing,' and 'wretched, poor' with γαῖα; cf. Skr. *lumpati* 'break, damage,' *lupta-* 'damaged,' OSl. *lupiti* 'peel'; from IE. *leu̯-p-* (Boisacq 593).

e. Gr. κόπος 'a beating, striking,' also 'toil, trouble, suffering' and 'weariness, fatigue'; cf. κόπτω 'beat, strike,' κοπίς 'knife,' OSl. *kopati* 'dig.' For the semantic development compare NHG. *niedergeschlagen.*

f. Lith. *rūpĕti* 'be anxious, solicitous,' *rūpėsti-s* 'anxiety, care'; Skr. *rupyati* 'suffer violent pain' (rare); cf. Skr. *rōpayati* 'cause to tear, break,' Lat. *rumpo* 'break, tear, rend (Boisacq 592).

g. Lat. *trīstis* 'distructive, injurious,' also 'troubled, sad, sorrowful'; cf. *trī-tus* 'rubbed, bruised, trodden,' *trī-bulum* 'threshing sledge,' from an extension of IE. *ter-* in Lat. *tero* 'rub, grind, thresh' (Walde 793).

7. Words for 'shock' and 'ergreifen,' denoting different degrees of disturbance of the normal flow of muscle and visceral feelings, come to be words for the emotions of 'irritation, anger' and 'sympathy' respectively.

a. Skr. *rabhas-* 'violence, vehemence; instr. violently, passionately, with rage,' *sa̧-rambha-* 'rashness, eagerness, zeal; agitation, fury, wrath,' besides 'taking hold of,' *sa-rabdha-* 'excited, enraged, angry,' besides 'joined with,' and 'increased, swollen'; cf. Skr. *rabhatē* 'seize, grasp, hold fast,' Gr. ἀμφί-λαφης 'taking in on all sides = wide-spread (of trees), huge, etc.', λάφυρον 'booty,' ἐίληφα used as perfect to λαμβάνω (Boisacq 561). The meaning 'eagerness, zeal' develops from the active 'grasp,' denoting the gesture; 'agitation, rage' from the passive 'ergriffen,' the feeling.

b. NHG. *ergriffen* (*von schmerz, mitleid, wut*) 'overcome,' without a modifier 'feel sympathy'; *ergreifend* 'arousing sympathy'; cf. NHG. *greifen*, E. *grip* 'grasp,' NHG. *ergreifen* 'take hold of.'

c. Skr. *āvēça-* 'entrance, access,' whence also 'shock' (of a violent emotion); anger, wrath'; cf. Skr. *viçati* 'enter.' For the semantic development compare NHG. *anwandlung* 'fit (of joy, grief, anger).'

8. Words for 'hot' and 'warm' turn into expressions for 'suffering, grief' and 'sympathy, kindness, delight,' respectively. Phrases like *grow hot, a heated argument,* and *a warm heart , warm up to something* illustrate this double development in English.

a. Skr. *tapati* 'be warm, hot, burn,' whence 'suffer, do penance, castigate one's self,' *tapa-* adj. 'heating, burning,' whence 'tormenting', m. 'heat, fire,' whence 'penance, religious austerity,' *tapas-* 'warmth, heat,' whence 'pain, grief, religious austerity,' *tāpa-*' heat, ardor' and 'pain, affliction, woe,' *anu-tāpa-* 'repentance, woe, sorrow,' *upa-tāpa-* 'heat,' whence 'pain, distress, woe, sorrow,' and 'sickness.' The related words in the other languages have the physical sense only: Av. aor. *tafsaṭ* 'grew hot,' *tafnah-* 'heat; fever'; OSl. *teplŭ* 'warm,' *topiti* 'to heat'; Lat. *tepeo* 'be warm.'

The sense 'heat' and 'suffering' occur side by side in every instance, except in the compounds where the earlier meaning is not found. The religious emotion accompanying castigation, which has very much in common with fever on the physiological side, is perhaps the predecessor of the wider 'suffering, pain; grief, sorrow.'

b. Skr. *sạ-jvarati* 'be grieved, sorry,' *jvara-* 'fever,' whence 'pain, grief, sorrow'; the simple verb *jvarati* does not develop the emotional sense; cf. further Skr. *jvalati* 'burn, blaze, glow, shine,' *jvala-* 'flame.'

c. Skr. *çōcati* 'flame, glow, burn,' whence 'suffer burning pains; grieve, mourn,' *abhi-, pari-çōcati* 'burn,' whence 'torment; grieve, mourn'; *çuc-, çōka-* 'flame, heat,' whence 'pain; grief, sorrow,' *çuca-* 'grief, sorrow'; Arm. *sug* 'mourning.' The physical and the emotional meanings occur side by side; the earlier meaning is seen also in Skr. *çōci-* 'flame, heat,' and in Av. *saocant-* 'burning' (Uhl. Wb. 317).

d. Skr. *dahyatē* 'be burned, destroyed by flames,' also 'feel pain, grief,' *dagdha-* 'burned' and 'tortured, suffering, grieving'; cf. also Skr. *dahati* 'burn,' *dāha-* 'burning, fever,' Av. *daza'ti*, Lith. *degù* 'burn.'

e. Skr. *dunōti* 'burn,' whence 'afflict, grieve,' *dūna-* 'burned,' and 'tortured'; Gr. *δύη* 'pain, anguish, misery,' *δυάω* 'to plunge into misery (Boisacq 204); cf. further Skr. *dăva-* 'conflagration,' Gr. *δαίω* 'set fire to,' *δάος* 'torch' (Boisacq 163).

f. Skr. *ghṛṇā-* 'compassion, pity; contempt,' *ghṛṇi-* 'heat,' also 'anger,' *ghṛṇin-* 'fierce, wild; compassionate'; cf. the related *ghṛṇōti* 'shine, glow,' and Gr. *θέρομαι* 'grow warm,' OIr. *gorim* 'heat, burn.' Both 'compassion' and 'anger' from 'warmth' and 'heat'; similar development in E. *have a warm heart* on the one hand, and in *hot-headed* on the other (cf. also Ger. *hitzkopf*).

g. Skr. *haryati* 'be gratified, delight in, desire, like'; Gr. *χαίρω* 'be delighted, rejoice,' *χαρά* 'joy, delight,' *χάρις* 'kindness, grace, grati-

tude; gratification, delight'; Lat. *hortor* (frequentative of an earlier **horior*) 'encourage'; Goth. *gairns*, ON. *gjarn*, 'desirous, inclined, willing,' OE. *ȝeorn*, OHG. *gern* 'desirous, zealous,' OS. *gerag*, OHG. *girīg*, NHG. *gierig* 'greedy,' OHG. *ger* 'greedy,' *gerōn*, NHG. *begehren* 'desire, crave.' Further, Skr. *hṛṇītē* 'grow angry,' *haras-* 'grudge,' besides 'flame, heat'; Av. *zara-nu-* 'to anger; mid. grow angry'; Russ. *zarji* 'fervent desire; anger, envy,' besides 'heat,' *zaritĭ* 'arouse a desire, grow angry.'

Skr. *haryati*, Gr. χαίρω, Lat. *hortor* certainly belong together, the first two having the middle sense, Latin the active. Osc. *herest*, Umb. *heriest* differ considerably from the Latin both in form and in meaning, and go more closely with the Germanic words, Goth. *gairns*, etc., 'desirous.' Skr. *hṛṇītē*, Av. *zaranu-*, Russ. *zaritĭ* form a group by themselves; but they ultimately come from the same base IE. *ĝher-*, the earlier meaning of which is preserved in Skr. *haras-* 'heat, flame' (besides 'grudge'), and in Russ. *zarji* 'heat' (besides 'desire, anger, envy'). The semantic development must have been on this order: 'heat, a physical state,' whence 'heat, ardor, as a characteristic expression of certain emotions,' then these emotions themselves, i.e. 'desire, delight' and 'anger, grudge.'

9. Words for 'thirst' develop into terms for 'desire, craving.'

a. Skr. *tṛṣyati* 'be thirsty,' whence 'crave,' *tṛṣā-*, *tṛṣṇā-*, *tarṣa-* 'thirst,' whence 'strong desire, craving.'

Without the full shift to the emotional, Av. *taršna-* 'thirst,' OE. *þurst*, E. *thirst*, NHG. *durst*, etc.; the meaning 'thirst' comes from 'dry' as is seen in Skr. *tṛṣṭa-* 'dry, rough,' Av. *taršuš* = Goth *þaursus* 'dry,' etc. The emotional sense 'craving' develops from the complex experience as a whole, which is designated by 'thirst' rather than from the perception of taste, which is only a part of it.

D. Words Denoting Situations and Activities Characterized by a Pronounced Emotional Value

Many activities and situations in the life of the individual and of social groups are laden with emotional import. Pleasure, enjoyment are part of the experience of possession and prosperity; happiness is part of home-life, of peace, of safety. The giving and the receiving of help or of a favor, the care for a person or an object, have their proper emotional value; strife, toil as well as play harbor strong emotions.

Accordingly such words as *prosperity*, *home*, *peace*, *toil*, *drudgery*, *trouble*, and *war* convey a pronounced emotional meaning besides the objective. In fact, when *war* or *peace* or *toil* are mentioned, the experience of the listener may be more emotional than reflective. At such times these words become expressions for emotions. It is therefore not hard to see how words for such concepts may become fixed as terms for the particular emotions that characterize them.

Psychologically, such experiences are trains of thought composed of sense impressions, images, processes of the imagination and of logical thinking, all of which have their feeling tones which are merged into a more or less unified emotional state characterizing the experience as a whole. At times the emotional may dominate over the reflective; a mood may issue from thought to which the name of the latter is then also applied. Thus the name of the entire complex of which the emotion is only a more or less important part may become attached to the emotion itself (see also pp. 3 and 7–8).

The situations and activities whose names have furnished words for emotions may be grouped as follows:

I. Possession of objects capable of giving pleasure and enjoyment
II. Safety and comfort
III. Help and care
IV. Labor, toil, trouble
V. Strife, disturbance, commotion
VI. Play
VII. Rest

In these groups more than in any other the older meaning perseveres by the side of the later one.

I. Possession of Objects Affording Enjoyment

1. Words with the meaning 'share,' both in the sense of 'deal out' and of 'partake of,' furnish expressions for 'enjoyment, delight.'

a. Skr. *bhajati* act. 'deal out,' mid. 'partake of,' whence both enjoy, love, court,' and 'prefer, choose, honor, worship'; *bhaga-* 'distributor, dispenser' (esp. of the Gods), and 'portion, lot,' whence also 'happiness, loveliness, beauty; affection, love'; *bhakti-* 'distribution, share,' also 'devotion, love, piety.' The forms from an *s*-extension of the base have the specialized sense of 'partake of, enjoy food'; *bhakṣati* 'partake of, enjoy (food or drink),' *bhakṣa-* 'enjoyment

(of food or drink).' Compare Av. *baža'iti* 'determine the share of,' *bayo* 'share'; also 'dispenser, god'; OSl. *bogŭ* 'god,' *bogatŭ* 'rich.'

b. Goth. *niutan* 'get, enjoy,' ON. *njōta*, OE. *nēotan*, OHG. *niozan* 'use, enjoy the use of, enjoy food'; MHG. *ge-niezen*, NHG. *ge-niessen* 'enjoy (both food and the like, and art),' NHG. *genuss* 'enjoyment (of food, art), delight.' The oldest meaning recorded in this group is that of Goth. *ganiutan* 'catch,' *nuta* 'fisherman (i.e. catcher).' A later stage is preserved in Goth. *un-nuts* 'useless,' NHG. *nutzen* 'profit'; also in the related Lith. *naudà* 'profit, income,' and in a more specialized sense in ON. *naut*, OE. *nēat*, OHG. *nōz* 'cattle' (illustrating a development which is the reverse of that of Lat. *pecūnia*, E. *fee*).

c. Skr. *tṛpyati* 'satisfy,' *tṛpti-* 'satisfaction,' *tātṛpi-* 'satisfying, delightful'; Gr. *τέρπομαι* 'enjoy fully; make merry' (*ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος* Il. 11, 780; *ἤβης ταρπῆναι* Od. 23, 212). *τερπνός* 'agreeable, delightful; glad'; Goth. *þrafstjan* 'console.' The earlier meaning of these words was 'use, make use of,' whence 'enjoy,' as one may gather from the Balto-Slavic: OPruss. *en-terpo* 'it is useful,' *en-terpen* 'useful'; Lith. *tar̃pti* 'prosper.'

d. OE. *ēad* n. 'possession, riches, prosperity,' and 'bliss,' adj. 'wealthy, blessed, happy,' *ēadiȝ* 'rich, prosperous,' and 'happy, blessed,' Goth. *audags* 'blessed,' OHG. *ōtag* 'rich, prosperous,' OS. *ōdag* 'rich; happy'; OHG. *ōt*, OS. *ōd* 'possession, property, riches.' There can be no doubt about the primary meaning.

2. Words for 'profit' develop into expressions for 'enjoyment, delight.'

a. Gr. *ὀνίνημι* act. 'profit, aid,' also 'gratify, delight,' mid. 'derive benefit, enjoy health,' also 'have enjoyment or delight,' *ὄνησις*, Dor. *ὄνᾱσις* 'profit, advantage, good luck,' whence 'enjoyment of, delight in (a thing).' The shift from 'profit' to 'enjoyment, delight' can be seen within the Greek, and its interpretation does not depend on any outward connections. Comparison with Skr. *nātha-*, ON. *nāð-* 'kindness,' NHG. *gnade* 'grace,' Goth. *ƞiþan* 'aid' (Wackernagel, Dehnungsges. 50) is inadmissible since the Greek words come from an IE. base *nā-: nə-*(Boisacq 705).

b. Skr. *dayatē* 'divide, allot; possess, partake,' whence 'sympathize with, love, repent,' ppl. *dayita-* 'loved, dear,' *dayitā-* 'wife,' *dayamāna-* 'compassionate, enamored,' *dayā-* 'sympathy, pity'; Gr. *δαίομαι* 'deal out, distribute,' also used in expressions for 'grief,' cf.

ἀλλά μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ Od. 1, 48; δαΐς, gen. δαιτός 'portion, meal, banquet' (Boisacq 862). For the semantic development compare NHG. *teil-nahme* 'participation' and 'sympathy.'

II. Safety, Comfort, and Danger

Under this head I group the words with the earlier meaning 'cover, shelter,' 'home, dwelling,' and '(safe) return,' which furnish expressions for 'happiness, bliss,' from which in turn such meanings as 'pleasure, love, joy' may develop; and words with the original meaning 'danger' which came to denote 'fear.'

1. Words denoting 'cover, shelter; home, dwelling' and '(safe) return' furnish expressions for 'happiness, bliss,' whence also 'pleasure, love, joy.'

a. Skr. *çarman-* 'cover, protection, shelter,' whence 'welfare, joy, bliss,' *çarmin-* 'joyful, happy.' The development of the meaning is clear from the Sanskrit itself. For the earlier meaning compare Goth. *hilms*, OE. OHG. *helm*, E. *helm*, *helmet*; with the suffix *i̯ā*, OE. *heall*, E. *hall*, originally 'cover, shelter.' All derived from IE. *k̂el-* 'cover; hide,' cf. Lat. *oc-culo* 'cover, hide,' OHG. *helan* 'hide,' Goth. *huljan*, NHG. *hüllen* 'cover, envelop.'

b. Skr. *kṣēma-* adj. 'homelike, comfortable, peaceful,' m. 'quiet, peace, security, comfort, prosperity,' besides the earlier 'stay, rest' and 'foundation'; compare Skr. *kṣēti*, Av. *šaeti* 'dwell, live,' Gr. κτίζω 'settle (a country), found (a colony),' κτίσις 'a settling, foundation,' Lat. *situs* 'founded.' The view of Kretschmer, KZ. 31, 429, that "die bedeutung von *kṣēma-* 'ruhe, sicherheit, friede, behagen' ist mit der anderen 'wohnsitz' nicht gut ungezwungen zu verbinden" is unfounded in the face of several parallel shifts.

c. Gr. ἦρα Hom., once with φέρω, 5 times with ἐπι-φέρω, 'bring acceptable gifts; do a service or kindness, gratify'; cf. Skr. *-vāra-*, Av. *vāra-* 'protection, preservation,' Skr. *vṛṇōti* 'cover, ward off.'

d. Skr. *ramatē* 'stand still, rest, dwell,' and 'delight in, be fond of; love, have sexual intercourse,' *rama-* 'gladdening, delighting,' *ramaṇa-* 'lover, husband,' *ā-rāma-* 'pleasure; pleasure garden,' *abhi-rāma-* 'agreeable, pleasant'; *rata-* 'content, happy, merry; fond of, dallying with, have sexual intercourse,' *rati-* 'rest, repose, comfort,' whence 'pleasure, love, sexual intercourse'; *ratha-* 'pleasure, joy'; *raṇtya-* 'delightful, pleasant.' Perhaps also Skr. *raṇati*, *raṇyati* 'enjoy one's

self, rejoice,' *raṇya-*, *raṇva-* 'delightful, pleasant,' *raṇa-raṇaka-* 'longing for, ardent desire, love' (**rṃ-n-*, Uhl. 245).

The verb *ramatē* and the abstract *rati-* illustrate the development of the emotional meanings within the Sanskrit. The related words in the other languages preserve the physical as well as the mental sense of 'calm': Av. *rāmaye̯ti* 'to calm'; Lith. *rìmti* 'be calm at heart,' *ramùs* 'calm at heart,' *romùs* 'quiet, gentle,' *rẽmti* 'support'; Goth. *rimis* 'calm, quietness,' OIr. *fo-rimim* 'I rest'; further Gr. *ἠρέμα* 'quietly, gently' (Boisacq 328).

e. Skr. *çiva-* 'kind, friendly, mild, lovely,' n. 'happiness, bliss,' *çēva-* 'dear'; OIr. *cōim*, *cōem* (*k̂oi̯-mo-*) 'familiar, lovely, dear,' Arm. *sēr* 'inclination, love,' *sirem* 'I love' (*k̂ei̯-ro-*). Compare Skr. *çētē*, *çayatē*, Av. *saetē*, Gr. *κεῖται* 'lie, rest'; Gr. *κοίτη* 'couch'; OE. *hām*, E. *home*, OHG. *heim* (**k̂ei̯-mo-*); lit. cited Boisacq 426. The semantic development is not quite clear. The Sanskrit and the Old Irish words may have derived their meaning from 'restful, quiet' as describing the outward appearance of the body in these particular emotions; but more probably from 'rest, dwell,' an outward situation germane to 'happiness, bliss, kindness.' The Armenian 'inclination, love' is hard to pass judgment on; it may represent an outgrowth of 'kindness.'

f. Av. *šyāti-*, *šāti-*, OPers. *šiyāti-* 'feeling of comfort, delight, happiness,' Av. *šātaya-*, OPers. *šiyātaya-* 'be comfortable, glad, rejoice,' Av. *šā-* 'be comfortable, delighted'; Lat. *quiēs* 'rest, repose; calmness, peacefulness (of mind); sleep, death,' *tranquīllus* 'quiet, calm, peaceful'; OSl. *po-kojь* 'quiet, calm (also of the soul),' *po-čiti* 'rest'; Goth. *ƕeilan* 'stay, rest,' ON. *hvīla* 'resting place, bed'; and the group discussed above. Latin and Slavic have retained the physical sense 'rest,' also as descriptive of the body, besides the later mental 'calm'; the Iranian has lost this earlier meaning, although the behavior of the body in the emotions designated by it very probably was still thought of, especially in the sense of 'feeling of comfort.'

g. Gr. *ἄσ-μενος* 'well-pleased, glad'; cf. *νέομαι* 'return,' Skr. *nasatē* 'approach, go towards,' and the Germanic words, Goth. *ga-nisan*, OHG. *gi-nesan*, NHG. *ge-nesen* 'recover (from sickness).' The emotional meaning of *ἄσμενος* is derived from '(safe) return,' traces of which Wackernagel attributes to this word in phrases like *φύγεν ἄσμενος ἐκ θανάτοιο* Il. 20, 350, and *ἄσμενος μολεῖν* Aesch. Pers. 736 (Wackernagel, Vermischte Beitr. 6 note; Brugmann, Griech. Gram. 318, 365, 545).

2. Words for 'danger' come to mean 'fear.'

a. OE. *fār*, ME. *fēre* 'sudden peril,' whence 'fear,' E. *fear*; compare OS. *fār*, OHG. *fāra*, NHG. *ge-fahr* 'danger,' ON. *fār* 'misfortune, plague,' and Lat. *periculum* 'trial, attempt, risk, danger,' Gr. πεῖρα 'trial, attempt.'

III. Help and Care

1. The words for 'help' shift through 'favor' to 'inclination, desire,' and in the passive sense from 'be helped' to 'feel relief, joy.'

a. Skr. *avati* 'favor, aid, protect, comfort,' and 'like, delight in,' *avas-* 'favor, aid, assistance, refreshment, food,' also 'feeling of relief, joy,' and 'inclination, desire'; *upa-avayati* 'caress, encourage,' *ā-avayati* 'enjoy, eat, devour'; Av. *avaŋhē* inf. 'care for, take pains'; Gr. *ἐν-νέα*, *ἐν-νέος*, early epic, 'kind,' *ἐν-νείη* 'kindness,' *ἄτταs* 'beloved,' Theocr. and Alc. (Boisacq 30); Lat. *aveo* 'be disposed, desire, long for, crave for,' *avidus* 'disposed, inclined, desirous, longing for, covetous, greedy,' *audeo* 'desire, incline,' whence 'dare,' *avārus* 'desirous, greedy, covetous, avaricious' (Breal MSL. 5, 193); Welsh *ewyll*, *ewyllys* 'will,' Corn. *awell*, *awel* 'desire,' Bret. *eoull* 'will.' Grassmann's view of the development of the meanings in Sanskrit (Wb. 121) is acceptable: a) set into motion (wagons, horses), b) further, aid, favor, refresh (with food), c) like, love; accept gladly, enjoy (food). Latin and Celtic fall into line; Greek 'kindness' readily develops from 'favor.'

2. Words for 'care' develop the sense of 'anxiety, pain, grief, sorrow' as well as that of 'love'; the same double development is in its incipient stages in the English word *care*, as may be gathered from phrases like *have cares* and *care for* 'like.'

a. Goth. *saurga*, OE. *sorȝ*, ME. *sorȝe*, *sorwe*, E. *sorrow*, OHG. *sorga*, ON. *sorg* 'care, sorrow, grief'; Goth. *saurgan*, ON. *syrgja*, OE. *sorȝian*, OHG. *sorgēn* 'care for, feel sorrow, grieve.' NHG. *be-sorgen*, *für etwas sorgen* still retain the earlier meaning 'take care of,' which is further attested by the related Lith. *sérgiu* 'watch,' *sargùs* 'watchful' (Zupitza, Gut. 179).

b. Lat. *cūra* 'solicitude, trouble, pains; charge, administration,' whence 'sorrow, affliction, anxiety, passionate love,' *cūriōsus* 'careful, curious, zealous,' and 'careworn, emaciated with grief,' *cūro* 'take care of, take pains with, foster, be anxious'; Osc. *coisatens* 'cūravērunt,' Umb. *kuraia* 'cūrēt.' The development within the

Latin itself is clear: 'take care,' whence 'administer,' and, in the adjective and the noun,' anxiety, affliction; sorrow, grief.' The connection with OE. *scīr* 'administration, business, care; shire,' OHG. *scīra* 'business,' suggested by Holthausen, IF. 14, 341, is quite probable, if the variation IE. *qeį-: sqeį-* is admitted.

c. Gr. ἄλγος 'pain, grief, distress,' ἀλγέω 'feel pain, suffer; grieve, be distressed,' ἀλγύνω trag. 'pain; grieve, distress,' ἀλγεινός 'giving pain, painful; grievous,' ἀλγηδών, ἄλγημα, ἄλγησις 'pain, suffering' ἀλγηρός 'painful.' The source of these meanings appears from the related ἀλέγω 'have care, trouble one's self,' Lat. *neg-lego* 'take no care.'

IV. Labor and Toil

Words for 'labor, toil' develop such meanings as 'suffering, misery, distress,' keeping as a rule a tinge of their earlier significance.

a. OSl. *stradati*, Russ. *stradatĭ*, Czech *stradati* 'suffer, be in need'; OSl. *stradĭba*, Russ. *stradĭba* 'toil, suffering,' Czech *strast'* 'trübsal'; OSl. *stradanije* 'suffering'; Russ. dial. *strada* 'agony,' besides the more usual 'labor, toil, esp. at harvest,' *po-strada* 'end of harvest.' With these compare also Lett. *strādāt* 'work,' *strādnēk* 'laborer'; all from IE. *sterē-*, an extension of *ster-* 'stiff,' cf. Gr. στερεός 'strong, firm, hard,' MHG. *star*, NHG. *starr* 'stiff'; OE. *styrne*, E. *stern*; Norw. *sterta* 'toil' (Persson, Beitr. 429, 732).

b. Goth *winnan* 'suffer,' ON. *vinna* 'suffer, undergo,' besides the more usual 'work, till; resist, conquer,' OE. *winnan* 'suffer,' besides the usual 'toil, strive; fight, conquer; win,' E. *win*, OS. *winnan* 'suffer,' besides 'fight; win,' OHG. *winnan* 'toil,' also 'rage, howl (through 'fight'?)'; Goth. *winna*, *winnō* 'suffering,' OE. *winn*, ON. *vinna* 'labor, strife,' OHG. *winna* 'strife, raging,' MHG. *winne* 'suffering'; OHG. *ga-win* 'work, toil; profit'; Goth. *wunns* 'πάθημα.' The North and West Germanic words only occasionally have the meaning of the rather rare Gothic words rendering Gr. πάσχειν, πάθημα, πάθος.

Gc. *winna-* 'work, fight' comes from the IE. base *ųen-* 'strive'; Skr. *vanōti* 'strive, desire, love,' Lat. *venus* 'love; charm,' OHG. *wunnea*, etc. exhibit a different development from the same original sense (see p. 26). The attempt of Meringer, IF. 16, 179, to derive both lines of development from 'ackern' is extremely far-fetched.

c. Gr. *πόνος* 'work, toil; Hom. toil of battle,' also 'trouble, distress, suffering, pain,' *πονέω* mid. 'work hard, do with pains or care,' also 'suffer from sickness,' after Homer 'act, toil; suffer,' whence 'afflict, distress,' pass. 'be afflicted, suffer greatly'; cf. *πένομαι* 'work for daily bread, toil,' also 'be needy, poor.' The meaning 'toil' is perhaps derived from 'strain one's self,' cf. OSl. *pĭno*, *pęti*, Lith. *pìnti* 'stretch' (Boisacq 767).

d. Gr. *μόγος* 'toil, trouble,' whence 'distress,' *μογερός* 'toiling,' whence 'distressed, wretched,' *μογέω* 'toil, suffer,' trag. 'suffer pain, be distressed'; Gr. *μόχθος* (**μογ-σ-το-ς*) 'toil, hardship, distress,' *μοχθέω* 'be weary, worn out with toil,' also 'distressed,' *μόχθημα* 'toils, hardship,' *μοχθηρός* 'suffering hardship, in sore distress, wretched' (Boisacq 647). Solmsen, KZ. 29, 85, justly compares Lett. *smags*, *smagrs* 'heavy,' Lith. *smagùs* 'hard to carry or to draw.'

e. ON. *verkr*, OE. *wærc*, *wræc*, E. dial. *head-wark*, *belly-wark* 'pain, ache,' ON. *verkja*, OE. *wærcan* 'feel pain' may be closely connected with ON. *verk*, OE. *weorc*, OHG. *werk*, Gr. *ἔργον* 'work,' since OE. *weorc* also means 'affliction, pain.' But it is also possible that ON. *verkr* and OE. *weorc* go with Skr. *varjati* 'turn,' Lat. *vergo* 'bow, bend,' *urgeo* 'press on, urge'; in that case the semantic development would be similar to that of the words originally denoting 'press.'

V. Strife and Commotion

1. Words for 'strife' develop into words for 'grudge, wrath,' i.e. for emotions that commonly go with strife.

a. Gr. *κότος* 'grudge, rancor, ill-will, wrath, vengeance,' *κοτέω* 'bear a grudge, be angry,' *κοτήεις* 'wrathful, jealous,' all practically confined to Homer, Pindar, and Aeschylus, are related to the following words with the meanings 'strife, battle,' and 'enemy, rivalry' which are prior to those of the Greek words denoting emotions arising in and accompanying these activities: OIr. *cath* 'battle,' OHG. *hadu*, OE. *heaþo* 'strife, battle,' Skr. *çatru-* 'enemy, rival (in battle or in love).' These may be further related to Skr. *çātayati* 'cut off, knock down' (Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 302; Boisacq 502, with literature).

2. Words for 'commotion' come to mean 'agitation, distress.'

a. Fr. *troubler* 'muddle, make turbid, disturb, agitate' and 'perplex, annoy, abash, intimidate,' *se troubler* 'be troubled, disturbed' and 'be agitated, disconcerted,' E. *trouble*; both the earlier and the

later meaning subsist; cf. Lat. *turba* 'throng, confusion,' Gr. *σύρβη*, *τύρβη* 'confusion, noise.'

VI. Play

Words for 'play' tend to acquire such meanings as 'amusement, mirth.'

a. ON. *gaman*, OE. *ȝamen*, E.-*gammon*, *game*, OHG. OS. *gaman* 'joy, merriment, mirth; lust,' also 'game, fun'; ON. *gaman-samr* 'merry,' E. *gamesome*, OHG. *gamansamo* adv. 'merrily,' OHG. *gaman-līh*, MHG. *geme-līch* 'merry, jolly, wanton.' The following related words with an *l*-suffix, or a *p*-extension, or both are closer to the original meaning of the group: MHG. *gamel* 'fun,' E. *gambol*; MHG. *gampen* 'skip, hop, stamp'; MHG. *gampel* 'fun,' *gumpel* 'skipping, fun'; MHG. *gumpe* 'whirlpool' (Falk-Torp 299). The shift in the meaning seems to proceed from 'skip' to 'play (games),' whence to 'amuse one's self, be merry, jolly.'

Alb. *zémɛrɛ*, *zémbɛrɛ* 'heart, will,' *zemerák* 'jähzornig,' *zɛmɛrój* 'erbittern, reizen' seem to derive their meaning from the expressive movement, like Gr. *θῡμός*, if we accept their connection with the Germanic group (Wiedemann, BB. 27, 202).

b. Skr. *krīḍati* 'play, sport, dance, amuse one's self,' *krīḍa-* 'playing, sporting,' *krīḍā-* 'play, sport, dance, amusement'; from IE. *qris-d-* denoting some quick movement, cf. ON. *hrista* 'shake,' and without the *d*-extension, Goth. *hrisjan* 'shake.' One may further compare OE. *hriþa*, *hriþ* 'fever,' OHG. *hrīdōn* 'shake, trouble,' *hritto* 'fever,' MIr. *crith* 'shaking, fever.'

E. Words Denoting 'Mind'

The words falling under this head are for the greater part obscure in their etymology, as they appear as names of mental activities even in the earliest records. Since there is no light from related words with meanings other than mental activities, and since we are not able to trace the semantic development chronologically within the mental except in rare cases, we must rely almost exclusively on psychological probability which is an unreliable support at best.

To be more specific, we find that Skr. *manas-* has such meanings as 'soul, spirit; mind, heart; will, desire' while the formally identical Gr. *μένος* usually denotes 'temper, passion, rage'; the divergence between the Germanic dialects is no less striking, as may be seen

from Goth. *muns* 'mind, thought; council, device' as against ON. *munr* 'longing, delight, love,' besides the rare 'mind.' What is the genetic relationship of these divergent meanings? Is 'emotion, passion' earlier, or 'mind, soul,' or do they spring independently from the same source?

Only in very rare cases can this question be answered with any degree of certainty; and those cases can hardly be set up as types, although they are no doubt of importance for our general point of view. Such a case is Gc. *andō-*, *andōn-* 'breath' and 'spirit, soul.' These meanings are seen in ON. *ǫnd*, while the corresponding West Germanic words denote emotions, i.e. mind organized under the influence of emotion, cf. OE. *anda* 'zeal, envy, malice, hatred,' OHG. *anta*, *anto* 'offence, grudge; sorrow,' NHG. dial. *ant* 'longing, heimweh.' Similarly Lat. *spīritus* 'breeze, air, breath' comes to denote 'life' and the emotions of 'pride, arrogance, courage,' and, at a later period, also 'spirit, soul, mind.' The sequence seems to be from 'breath' to 'life,' whence, probably independently, to 'spirit, soul' and to 'zeal, envy, hatred; sorrow, longing; pride, arrogance, courage.'

The meanings which with varying scope are found in the words under consideration may be summarized in the following manner:

a) 'mind' with its changing aspects, dominated either by thought or by emotion, the more specific content of the word being defined by the context or the general situation. This fluctuation with the context may be observed in the English word *mind*, which generally denotes 'mind organized under the predominance of the thought element,' and in *heart*, which stands for 'mind organized under the influence of emotion': *a keen mind* (reason), *a great mind* (wisdom), *to have in mind* (memory), *mindful* (attention, care), *to have a mind* (intention, will); *the human heart* (all feelings and emotions), *to have a heart* (sympathy, courage), *to take heart* (courage), *to give one's heart to* (devotion, like, love).

Skr. *manas-*, Lat. *mens* have even a wider range of meanings, comprising as they do the scope both of *mind* and of *heart*, as may be gathered from the list of Meillet, De Radice *Men 45, where he enumerates the following senses for the Sanskrit: soul, mind; hope, fortitude, fear, lubenter (instr.).

b) Experiences of thought like Goth. *muns* 'thought, council, device,' and Lat. *meminī*, Gr. μιμνήσκω 'remember.'

c) Emotional experiences of all kinds like ON. *munr* 'longing, delight,' OE. *myne* 'desire, purpose,' OHG. OS. *minnea*, MHG. *minne* 'cāritās, dīlectio, love,' Gr. *μένος* 'passion, rage.'

Sometimes a specific meaning comes to be attached to a particular form of the root, as in the case of Gr. *μιμνήσκω*, *μνήμη*, *μνῆμα* 'remember, memory, memorial'; or to a certain stem-form, as in Lat. *meminī*; or else a shift is motivated by affixes. So words for 'memory' are apt to have the collective prefix *ȝa-* in the Germanic languages, cf. Goth. *ga-hugida*, OE. *ȝe-mynd*, NHG. *ge-dächtnis*. More often however the semantic development is entirely independent of formal elements.

An important factor in the shift from the meaning 'heart' to the specific emotions of 'anger, courage, joy, etc.' are certain set expressions in which the word absorbs the meaning of its modifier, and so ultimately comes to stand for one or more specific emotions. This process can be traced, for instance, in OS. *hugi*. Set expressions like *gibolgan hugi*, *hōti hugi* 'anger, wrath,' and *fastan hugi* 'courage, fortitude' are in that language so frequent that the noun by itself gets a strong shade of these meanings. Similarly OHG. *hugu* acquires the meaning 'joy' in compounds like *hugu-lust* 'herzenslust,' *huge-screi* 'herzensschrei = freudenschrei,' *huge-sangōn* 'jubilāre.' Its descendant MHG. *hüge* usually has this acquired meaning.

On the basis of the situation sketched in the previous pages, I suggest with a good deal of hesitation what appear to be the main lines in the semantic development of the words under consideration:

spirit, mind
- heart
  - wish, will
  - like, love
  - believe
  - courage
  - anger
  - grief
- thought
  - think, imagine, reason
  - judge, choose
  - know, understand, be wise
  - remember, keep in mind
  - care

Striking deviations from these lines of development will be discussed in connection with the material.

The psychological basis for this type of semantic development has been stated briefly pp. 6–7.

a. Skr. *manyatē* , Av. *manyaⁱti* 'think, believe; intend, wish for; perceive, know, understand; remember'; Skr. *manas-*, Av. *manō* 'soul, spirit; intellect, thought; heart,' whence 'wish, will, desire, hope, fortitude, fear', Skr. *pra-manas-* 'loving, tender; cheerful; merry, gay,' *māna-* 'opinion; will; pride, arrogance; respect, honor; anger, caprice, sulkiness,' *manā-* 'zeal, ardor, jealousy, anger,' *su-mna-* 'good-will'; *manyu-*, Av. *maⁱnyu-* 'mood, ardor; passion, rage, wrath, anger; distress, grief, sorrow'; Skr. *mati-* 'devotion, prayer,' and 'thought, mind, belief, understanding.'

Gr. *μένος* 'spirit, rage, passion, temper,' also 'force, strength (of fire, wine, spear, river),' *μαίνομαι* 'rage, be furious,' *μάντις* 'seer, prophet,' *μανία* 'madness, frenzy; enthusiasm, inspired frenzy,' *μέμονα* Ion. poet. 'wish eagerly, yearn,' *μιμνήσκω* 'remember, heed, mention,' *μνήμων* 'memor,' *μνήμη* 'memory, mention,' *μνῆμα* 'memorial.'

Lat. *mens, mentis* (= Skr. *mati-*) 'mind, disposition; heart, feeling; courage; intention; consideration, reflection, understanding, judgement; recollection'; *meminī* 'remember, mention,' Osc. *memnim* 'monumentum, memoriam'; Lat. *moneo* 'remind, warn.'

Goth. *munan, man* 'seem,' ON. *muna, man* 'remember, delight in,' OE. *munan* 'intend, remember, foresee'; Goth. *munan* w. v. 'intend'; ON. *mana*, OE. *manian*, OHG. *manēn* 'remind, warn, challenge'; Goth. *muns* 'mind, thought; council, devise; purpose,' ON. *munr* 'mind; longing, delight, love,' *mun-ligr* 'lovable,' OE. *myne* 'mind, purpose, desire,' *myne-līc*, OS. *muna-līc* 'lovable'; Goth. *gamunds, gaminþi*, ON. *minni* 'memory,' OE. *ȝemynd* 'mind, thought, memory, mention,' E. *mind*; OS. OHG. *minnea*, MHG. *minne* 'dīlectio, caritās, love,' OS. OHG. *minneōn*, MHG. *minnen* 'love.'

OIr. *do-moiniur* 'I think,' *menme* (= Skr. *manman-*) 'spirit.'

OSl. *mĭnjǫ, mĭněti* 'think,' *pa-mętĭ* 'memory'; Lith. *at-mintìs* 'memory.'

With a *dh*-extension of the root: Gr. *μανθάνω, ἔμαθον* 'learn, understand,' *μενθήρη* 'hope'; Goth. *mundōn sis* '*σκοπεῖν*,' OHG. *menden*, OS. *mendian* 'rejoice'; Lith. *mandras, mandrùs* 'arrogant, proud,' OSl. *mądrŭ* 'wise.'

The semantic development has been discussed above. For possible original meanings of IE. *men-* see Walde, under *memor.*

b. ON. *ǫnd* 'breath,' besides 'life,' *ande* 'breath, spirit, holy ghost,' OHG. *anta* 'offence, grudge; pain,' *anto* 'offence, grudge; pain,' NHG.

dial. *ant* 'longing, heimweh,' OE. *anda* 'zeal, envy, malice, hatred'; ON. *anda* 'blow, breathe,' OE. *andian* 'envy,' OHG. *antōn* 'be angry; scold, offend,' MHG. *anden* 'revenge,' NHG. *mich andet* 'I feel hurt'; IE. *an-dhē-*, cf. skr. *çrad-dhā*. ON. *ann*, *unnum* 'favor, love,' OE. *an(n)*, *unnon*, OHG. *(g-)an*, *(g-)unnum*, NHG. *gönnen* 'favor, show good-will; allow, grant'; MHG. *anen* (OHG. **anōn*), NHG. *ahnen* 'have a presentiment.' Goth. *ansts*, OE. *ēst*, OHG. *g-anst*, *g-unst* 'favor, grace, bounty,' ON. *āst* 'favor, love'; Gc. *an-sti-*, *un-sti-* with secondary suffix *sti*, cf. OHG. *brunst*, *kunst*, *swulst*.

The meaning 'breath, breathe' of ON. *ǫnd*, *anda*, and its predecessors 'wind, breeze, air' are recorded in Goth. *uz-anan*, *uz-ōn* 'exhale' and in OE. *ȳst*, OHG. *unst* 'storm'; further in Skr. *aniti* 'breathe,' *anila-* 'wind,' MIr. *anōl* 'breath,' Lat. *animus* 'draft, wind, breath,' and 'spirit, soul,' Gr. *ἄνεμος* 'wind.' The development follows the lines from 'spirit' to 'grudge, hatred, anger,' on the one hand, and to 'favor, good-will, love' on the other.

c. OS. *mōd*, OHG. MHG. *muot* 'heart,' whence 'desire, inclination, intention; anticipation, hope; courage,' NHG. *mut* 'courage,' *zu mute* 'at heart,' OE. *mōd* 'mind, heart,' whence 'courage, pride, arrogance,' E. *mood*, ON. *mōðr* 'moodiness, wrath; grief,' Goth. *mōþs* 'wrath, anger'; OE. *mōdi*, OS. *mōdag*, Goth. *mōdags* 'wroth,' ON. *mōðugr* 'moody'; NHG. *mutig* 'courageous,' Swiss 'cheerful'; OE. *ʒemēde*, MHG. *gemuot* 'pleasant,' OE. *ofer-mēde* 'übermütig'; OE. *ʒemēde*, MHG. *gemuote*, NHG. *gemüt* 'consensus'; OHG. *muoten* 'desire, long for,' NHG. *anmuten* 'attract,' *vermuten* 'suspect.'

The shift in the meaning proceeds from 'heart, gemüt' to 'desire,' to 'anger,' and to 'courage' independently, each dialect exhibiting a tendency in a definite direction. Connection with Gr. *μῆνις* 'wrath,' OSl. *sŭ-mĕjǫ* 'dare' seems probable (Falk-Torp 726).

d. Goth. *hugs* '*νοῦς*' (once only), ON. *hugr* 'mind; heart; desire, courage; foreboding,' OE. *hyʒe*, OS. *hugi* 'heart, courage, anger,' OHG. *hugu* 'mind; affection, joy,' MHG. *hüge* 'mind, heart; joy'; Goth. *hugjan* 'think, feel,' *ufar-hugjan* 'be overbearing, exalted,' ON. *hyggja* 'think, mean; intend; apprehend,' OE. *hycʒan* 'think, meditate; intend, hope,' OS. *hugian* 'think,' MHG. *hügen* 'think of, long for, delight in'; ON. *huga* 'mind, excogitāre,' OE. *hoʒian* 'think, consider, care, intend,' OS. OHG. *hogēn* 'think'; Goth. *gahugds* 'mind, disposition, conscience,' *gahugida* 'memory,' OE. *hyʒd*, OHG. *huct* 'mens, cogitātio, consilium,' OHG. *gahuct* 'memory, joy,' *gahugita* 'solicitude.'

The shift in meaning from 'mind, heart' to 'desire, courage, anger, joy' takes place independently in the individual dialects. The suggested comparison with Skr. *çōcati* 'shine, burn; feel pain, sorrow' is altogether uncertain (Falk-Torp 424).

e. Gr. *νοῦς* 'mind,' whence 'thought, meaning,' and 'heart, inclination, purpose'; *σύν-νους* 'thoughtful, anxious, gloomy'; Mod. Gr. *ἐν-νοιάζομαι* 'take care'; *εὔ-νοια* 'good-will, kindness.'

The emotional sense is only occasional, cf. *ἐκ παντὸς νόου* 'with all his heart and soul' Hdt. 8, 97.

F. Words Denoting Thought Processes

There are many kinds of thought processes; but their division into processes of perception, of reasoning, of memory, and so forth, is due to reflection and escapes the popular mind which is after all the most powerful factor in the semantic evolution of the vocabulary. For this reason it is not always possible nor admissible to say that the emotional terms we are dealing with here spring from words for 'perceive' or 'think' or 'remember'; such terms usually denote both 'perceive' and 'think,' or 'think' and 'remember,' or 'perceive,' 'think,' and 'remember.' One may illustrate this point by E. *see*, which means both 'see with the eye' and 'understand,' and by E. *think of*, which may stand for 'imagine, reason, plan' or for 'remember, recall.'

While a clear-cut classification according to the semantic source is thus not possible, still there are three groups of words that are fairly distinct:

1. Words with the general meaning 'experience,' which develop into expressions for 'suffering' and 'grief.'

2. Words for 'perceive, think, attend to,' which develop such meanings as 'desire, care for; honor, revere; feel gratitude.'

3. Words for 'think of, remember,' which come to denote 'love, longing' and 'care, solicitude.'

The psychology of this type of change in meaning has been discussed pp. 7–8.

1. Words for 'experience' become expressions for 'suffer, grieve.'

a. Gr. *πάσχειν, παθεῖν* 'receive an impression, experience; suffer (as opposed to do),' cf. *κακῶς πάσχειν* 'be ill off,' *εὖ πάσχειν* 'be well off'; then 'experience a state of feeling or emotion,' cf. *ὁ πάσχων* 'man of feeling,' *ὁ μὴ πάσχων* 'unimpassioned man'; *πάθος, πάθημα, πάθη* 'passive

experience; suffering, misfortune,' ἀπαθής 'without feeling or passion, unaffected,' ἀπάθεια 'want of sensation, feeling; absence of suffering'; πένθος ep. poet. 'grief, sadness, sorrow, mourning,' also 'unhappy event, misfortune,' πενθικός 'mournful,' πενθέω 'mourn, lament, bewail.' From the earliest period we find πάσχω with the meaning 'experience good or ill' (though with an inclination towards the latter), and πένθος 'grief.' Πάσχω no doubt represents an earlier stage in the development of the meaning.

Outside the Greek compare Lith. *kencsù* 'suffer, suffer pains; grieve,' *pa-kantà* 'patience'; OIr. *cēssaim* (**q̑enth-s-*) 'suffer' (Boisacq 766, with literature).

b. Skr. *vētana-* 'sensation, perception, knowledge conveyed by the senses,' whence 'knowledge; manifestation' and 'pain, agony' (which is the most common significance of the word). The emotional sense develops, as in Gr. πάσχω, πένθος, from 'experience, undergo' which in turn comes from 'find, find out' as can be seen from the related verb Skr. *vindati*, aor. *avidam*, pf. *vivēda* 'find, find out, discover' also 'im geiste finden' (Geldner, RV. Gloss. 161). Skr. *vēda* 'observe, notice,' but generally 'experience, understand, know' exhibits a shift in the direction of 'thought-experience,' cf. the related Gr. οἶδα, Goth. *wait*, etc., 'know,' and Lat. *video* with a meaning usually limited to visual experience.

The situation in the West Germanic dialects is similar to that in the Sanskrit though the connecting link between the emotional and the intellectual sense has been completely lost: cf. OE. *wīte*, OS. *wīti*, OHG. *wīzi*, MHG. *wīze* 'suffering,' whence in Christian literature 'poena, tormentum, damnātio' with OE. *wāt*, OHG. *weiz*, NHG. *weiss* 'know' (Wood, AJP. 27, 61).

2. Words for 'perceive, think, attend to' develop such meanings as 'desire, care for' and 'honor, revere' and 'feel gratitude.'

a. Skr. *cētati* 'perceive,' whence 'attend to, intend, strive after, desire,' and 'understand, know, conceive,' *cētas-* 'mind, consciousness, fancy,' and 'heart, desire,' besides 'appearance, aspect,' *cintā-* 'thought, plans,' and esp. 'sad thought, sorrow,' *apa-cita-* 'respected, honored,' *apa-citi-* 'awe, honor, respect,' and 'expiation, vengeance.' Besides, *cit-*, *citi-* 'thought, mind, intellect,' *citti-*, Av. *cisti-* 'insight, wisdom' with intellectual meanings only.

The development of the meaning seems to proceed from 'perceive' to 'perceive with a feeling of reverence, desire, or revenge,' on the

one hand, and to 'conceive, think, understand' on the other. In the case of *cintā-* the emotional sense 'sad thought, sorrow' seems to be derived directly from 'thought,' cf. E. *pensive*, G. *gedankenvoll*. The meaning 'perceive' is in turn derived from 'seem, shine,' for which compare Skr. *kēta-* 'appearance, aspect,' Skr. *citra-*, Av. *ciθra-* 'shining, brilliant, many-colored,' Lith. *kaitrà* 'feuerglut.'

Skr. *cāyati* 'notice, observe, discern,' and 'fear, worship, revere,' *cayatē* 'pass judgment on, punish'; Gr. τῑ́ω, Hom. τῑ́νω, Att. τῑ́νω 'honor,' and 'pay a debt, fine; revenge,' ποινή = Av. *kaena-* 'retribution, penalty,' and 'reward, recompense,' OSl. *čěna* 'honor'; from IE. $q^{u}ei$-, of which Skr. *cit-* in the previous group may be an extension. The semantic development is like that of the previous group; compare especially Skt. *apa-citi-* 'honor' and 'revenge.'

b. Lat. *vereor* 'feel awe, reverence, respect,' also 'fear, apprehension, dread.' These emotional meanings come from an earlier 'perceive, watch, heed, regard' which is seen in the related Gr. ἐπὶ ὄρονται 'they keep watch,' οὖρος 'watcher, warden,' ὥρα 'care, concern, heed, regard,' ὁράω 'perceive,' esp. of sight; OHG. *wara neman*, NHG. *wahrnehmen*, E. *aware* (Walde 820).

c. Goth. *þagks* 'gratitude,' ON. *þǫkk* 'gratitude, satisfaction, reward,' OE. *þanc* 'thought,' and 'grace, favor; satisfaction, pleasure,' OHG. *dank* 'thought,' and 'intention, will; gratitude,' NHG. *dank* 'gratitude,' *zu danke* 'to one's satisfaction'; ON. *þekkr* 'agreeable, pleasant, liked,' *þekt* 'liking'; ON. *þokka* 'be disposed, like,' OHG. *dankōn*, E. *thank*; ON. *þokke* 'mood, disposition; good-will,' *þokkamaðr* 'lover'; ON. *þykkja* 'thought' and 'like and dislike,' *þykkt* 'resentment, displeasure.' Further the words with the general meaning 'think,' i.e. the activity of the 'mind' as defined in the introduction to this chapter: Goth. *þagkjan*, OE. *þencan*, E. *think*, OHG. *denken* 'think,' ON. *þekkja* 'observe, understand'; Goth. *þugkjan*, ON. *þukkja*, OE. *þyncan*, Shak. *me thinks*, OHG. *dunken*, NHG. *dünken* 'seem,' originally used only impersonally. Semantic development: 'think,' then 'think of something with affection = feel gratitude, satisfaction, pleasure; intend, desire.'

Probably related to Lat. *tangere* 'touch,' Osc. *tanginûd* abl. 'sententiā'; 'think' from 'touch, grasp,' like NHG. *begreifen* from *greifen* (Walde 763; Wood, Cl. Phil. 3, 85).

d. Lat. *praed-opiont* 'prae-optant,' Osc. *ufteis* 'optatī, or so,' Umb. *upetu* 'ēligitō, optātō,' *opeter* gen. 'bonī'; Lat. *optio* 'choice,

will,' *opto* 'choose, wish, express a wish.' Without the emotional sense, Lat. *opīnor* 'suppose, imagine, conjecture,' *opīnio* 'opinion, conjecture.' Compare further Czech *japati* 'observe, consider, listen,' L.Russ. *za-apŭ*, *za-japŭ* 'vermutung' (Walde 542; Berneker 29). The semantic development proceeds from 'observe, consider' to 'choose,' and then to 'wish.'

e. Lith. *maudziù*, *maũsti* 'long for,' *ãp-maudas* 'care, trouble'; cf. OSl. *myslĭ* (**mūd-sl-*) 'thought,' *mysliti* 'cogitārī, cunctārī'; OIr. *smuainim* (**smoud-n-*) 'I think,' Goth. *ga-maudjan* 'remember' (see Boisacq under μῦθος). The meanings of the Lithuanian words are certainly due to later development.

3. Words for 'remember' may develop the meaning 'love, longing' and 'care, solicitude.'

a. Skr. *smara-* 'remembering,' m. 'memory' and 'love, longing,' *smara-kathā-* 'liebesgeplauder,' *smara-lēkha-* 'love letter,' *smara-kāra-* 'causing love', *smara-daçā-* 'the ten stages of sex-love'; *smṛti-bhū-* 'god of love.' The emotional meanings are not found in Vedic Sanskrit; nor does the verb *smarati* 'remember' ever develop such meanings.

Gr. μέριμνα ep. poet. 'thought, esp. anxious thought, care solicitude,' μεριμνάω 'care for, be anxious about,' μέρμηρα 'care, trouble,' μερμηρίζω 'be thoughtful, anxious, full of care,' also 'devise, contrive,' μέρμερος 'causing anxiety; baneful; peevish, morose,' μάρτυρος 'witness' (Boisacq 612).

Goth. *maurnan* 'be anxious, full of care,' ON. *morna*, OE. *murnan*, E. *mourn*, OHG. *mornēn* 'be full of care, grieve' (Feist, Et. Wb. 191).

The related Latin words rarely have an emotional significance: *memor* 'mindful, remembering, having a good memory, memorable,' *memōria* 'recollection, memory; solicitude; memorial.'